The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1888.

The Week.

THE campaign against Mr. Lamar was foredoomed to failure. The Republicans in the Senate have a majority only by the vote of a "rebel" from Virginia, and self-respect of course demanded that Mr. Riddleberger should vote for confirmation. It was morally certain that other Republican Senators would join him. So the event proved. Mr. Stewart of Nevada and Mr. Stanford of California voted on Monday for confirmation, and the *Tribune's* despatch says that "other Republican votes could have been obtained" on the same side if they had been necessary. The net result of the incident, therefore, is simply to expose the Republican party under its present management as a sectional and unbalanced organization, which challenges the opposition of right-minded men.

Now that the *Tribune's* great Congress of "representatives of various branches of agricultural production" has adjourned, it will be interesting to peruse the following "call" which was sent out by the *Tribune* as a reason for bringing them together, several copies of which have been sent to us by recipients who did not care to respond:

"I ask your attention to a special agitation in behalf of protection now being carried on by the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* has sent letters to all the granges, clubs, and agricultural societies in the United States—over 6,000 in number, with a membership of over 1,000,000—asking them to debate the question of protection, and report their views to this office. Large farmers have been asked to report their individual opinions. This agitation has been in progress somewhat more than a year. A genuine interest in the tariff has been awakened by this discussion among farmers, and the protection sentiment, existing among them to some extent, has been greatly strengthened already, and grows in strength every week. A large number of debates have been had in granges and societies, and a great mass of replies have been received by the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* now proposes to submit these replies to a competent committee of representatives of the various branches of agricultural production, over which the Hon. Warner Miller, ex-United States Senator, has consented to preside, and to have prepared an emphatic statement to the country of the wants of the farmers of America, and the need of better protection to their products. The Committee will meet in New York in January. Their statement will be promptly published and submitted to all the granges and societies for their approval, with a view to its final presentation to Congress as an expression of the sentiments of the farmers of America."

There is more of the "call," including the disinterested information that the "subscription price of the *Semi-Weekly Tribune* is $2 a year"; but we have given the more important portions of it. The net result of the "genuine interest" awakened among the farmers which had been "strengthened" and "grew in strength" for "somewhat more than a year," was the assembling of an august body of seven men, none of whom were farmers, or in any sense representative of any kind of "agricultural production," unless exception be made in favor of Col. William M. Grosvenor, of Englewood and the *Tribune's* editorial staff, who is a great "producer" of "chastity" and similar articles. Over this body the Hon. Warner Miller, ex-United States Senator, did preside for two days and two evenings. It is interesting to have the "call's" assurance that the results will be promptly embodied in "an emphatic statement to the country of the wants of the Farmers of America," with a "view to its final presentation to Congress as an expression of the sentiments of the Farmers of America." That will be one of the greatest jokes ever perpetrated by the *Tribune*, and will burst upon Congress like a thunderclap. But for drollery it cannot beat Col. Grosvenor's appearance at "the Congress" as an essayist on the "Hemp and Flax Industries," he having been the author of that very effective attack on the tariff entitled 'Does Protection Protect?' and in 1872 the Secretary of the Free-Trade League in this city and Washington.

The proceedings of the Subsidy Convention at Washington on Monday were opened by prayer by the Rev. Dr. Leonard, who implored the Divine guidance in measures for the development of American shipping. Taste in prayer is not a proper subject for newspaper criticism, and it must be said for the Rev. Dr. Leonard that if he consented to pray at a business convention at all, he was bound to remember business in his supplications. What impresses us most is the fine opportunity that the reduction of the surplus affords for variety in prayer at the national capital. The wool men had a convention the other day. It must strike them now as a great oversight that they did not have their proceedings each day opened with prayer. There might have been a prayer one day for carpet-wool and another day for clothing-wool, and another for worsteds, and so on. Presently we shall have conventions representing other interests threatened by the condition of the surplus. Prayer for or against tobacco, sugar, salt, lumber, pearl buttons, etc., etc., would afford a fine field for the display of talent among the clergy of Washington city.

The ancient farce of a joint meeting of wool-growers and woollen manufacturers was reënacted last week at Washington. The interests of the two are diametrically opposed. The woollen manufacturers want free wool or extremely low duties. The wool-growers want the highest possible duties, but they would like prohibition of foreign wool better than anything else. Each class is afraid of the other, and now for the first time both are afraid of the people of the United States as consumers of woollen goods. Their efforts to secure apparent harmony are thus more complicated and embarrassing than usual. The wool-growers have put forward a demand for higher duties on carpet wool. This, it is said, the manufacturers will not agree to. If they do agree to it, they will forfeit every claim to consideration and respectful treatment by tariff reformers. Carpet wools are not produced in this country. Therefore the tariff on such wool violates the principles of protection as much as those of free trade. It is kept in force solely for the sake of example—a bad example. The idea which lies at the bottom of this pernicious and unnecessary duty is that "wool is wool, and if you admit one kind free of duty, even though it is not produced here, you weaken the argument for duties on all the other kinds." The carpet-makers are asked to pay several million dollars per year in taxes that the Government does not want, in order to nurse this sentimental nonsense. We tell the carpet men plainly that the tariff reformers are better friends of theirs than the wool-growers, and can be relied on with much more confidence to deal justly by them through thick and thin.

The question of officers for the National Republican Committee in the approaching Presidential campaign is agitating the minds of the Republican leaders, and we are not surprised to see the current of opinion running strongly in favor of such men as "Tom" Cooper, "Chris" Magee and "Matt" Quay of Pennsylvania, "Bill" Chandler, and "Tom" Platt. The latter is looked upon as the inevitable man for Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Chandler appears to be slightly in the lead for Chairman of the National Committee. It would be difficult to fix upon two men more representative of the tendencies of the party at this time, for in all the country there are not to be found two men more expert in political "tricks" and "dodges." Still, if the battle-cry of the campaign is to be "Blaine and a surplus," there ought to be a good sprinkling of Pennsylvania talent in the Committee, for, as the Chicago *Tribune* has well said of Blaine's tariff views, they are "Pennsylvanian" in origin, and have little popular strength anywhere else.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge says that the Massachusetts Republicans are for Mr. Blaine's nomination, and that "Mr. Blaine's candidacy will inspire greater enthusiasm than that of any other Republican." It was their failure to "inspire enthusiasm," we suppose, which caused Republican candidates like Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, and Garfield to make such a contemptible showing beside Blaine as they do in this table, which gives the Republican vote, the total opposition vote, and the Republican majority over all opposition in Massachusetts at every election from 1860 to 1884:

	Rep. Vote.	Opposition.	Rep. Maj.
Lincoln, 1860	106,533	62,642	43,891
Lincoln, 1864	126,742	48,745	77,997
Grant, 1868	136,477	59,408	77,069
Grant, 1872	133,472	59,260	74,212
Hayes, 1876	150,063	109,556	40,507
Garfield, 1880	165,205	117,307	47,898
Blaine, 1884	146,724	156,657	?

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If the author of "the Paris message," who supposes that people pay in gold and silver for foreign goods, had consulted Benjamin Franklin's examination before a committee of the House of Commons in 1766 touching the Stamp Act, he would have found a very neat exposition of the way in which accounts are settled in international trade, and perhaps have been saved from telling that story of his about the effect of the tariff of 1846 on our supply of specie. Franklin had informed the Committee that Pennsylvania imported annually from Great Britain about £500,000 worth of goods, and only exported to Great Britain about £40,000 worth of the produce of the province. "How, then," he was asked, "do you pay the balance?"

"Ans. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the West Indies, and sold on our own islands, or to the French, Spanish, Danes, and Dutch; by the same produce carried to other colonies in North America, as to New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia; by the same carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In all such places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain, which, together with all the profits in the industry of our merchants and mariners arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, centre finally in Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the provinces or sold to foreigners by our traders."

There could hardly be a clearer lesson in the working of foreign exchange. It was given by an American 120 years ago, and yet the Republican candidate for the Presidency, although nearly sixty years old, has not yet mastered it.

What farmers who really farm think about the high tariff, is shown by the memorial to Congress adopted by the Nebraska State Farmers' Alliance at its annual session a few days ago. These Nebraska farmers represent that agriculture is greatly depressed, and name among the prominent causes for this depression "the protective-tariff system as it now prevails, taxing the farmers of the nation to aggrandize the manufacturers, upon the plea of protecting American labor, while labor is left free to come to this country from all parts of the world." The memorialists represent that only a small proportion of the tax imposed upon the people by the protective tariff goes into the Treasury, "but through an enhancement of prices swells the profits of the manufacturers, who, by virtue of our natural advantages, ought to be able to compete with the world on equal terms"; and they point out that our agricultural products are sold in the open markets of the world in competition with the world, while the manufacturer, through the tariff, receives a bonus of from 25 to 100 per cent. on his goods." While not favoring free trade, they do favor the extension of the free list, and the levying of duties more upon articles of luxury, the conclusion of this vigorous document being as follows: "Your memorialists would therefore most earnestly protest against the removal of taxes from whiskey and tobacco, and as earnestly pray for relief from taxation upon iron, coal, salt, lumber, wool, woollen goods, and sugar." The President addressed his message largely to the farmers, and their response is very hearty.

The account given by Prof. R. W. Raymond of the origin and progress of the strike in the Lehigh and Schuylkill coal districts will suggest to thoughtful readers that the coal companies owe to the public the duty of putting new men at work if the old ones decline to resume their places. The impression has gone abroad that the wages paid to the miners were so desperately low that a strike was, upon a broad view, justifiable, if not necessary. Prof. Raymond shows that this is an entire mistake. The miners, good, bad, and indifferent, in the Lehigh district when the strike began, were getting an average of $2.72 per day. Taking account of the occasional suspensions of work, they were earning $660 per year average. These are far from starvation rates, as every laboring man knows. Nobody questions the miner's right to strike. It is his duty to improve his condition, and it may be his duty to cease production in order to determine whether the coal market and the labor market, and all other markets which make up human society, will enable him to exact $3 per day for work that he had been doing for $2.72 heretofore. But in exercising this right he must regard other people's rights, including the right of society to get its coal as cheaply as it can be afforded. A curious notion has got into the heads of some people that, although a railroad company may, and indeed must, keep its trains running, and to this end must fill the places of striking employees without delay, yet a coal company under like circumstances must wait until the community are in dire distress, the poorer classes pretty well frozen, and a large number of workingmen in factories and furnaces thrown out of employment for want of fuel, before making any attempt to fill the places of the strikers. In other words, society has been so befooled by the talk of starvation wages in the coal mines that more than half the people who think about the matter at all conclude that the miners have a right to stand at the mouth of the pits and to stone and club everybody who wants to go down to dig coal. This grotesque conception will probably hold the public mind until the scarcity of coal causes considerable suffering. Then it will be perceived that the sixty millions of American people—for there are very few who do not use anthracite or depend upon it in some way—have rights also which it is expedient to enforce, and that among these is the right to pay not exceeding $2.72 per day for coal-mining, if men can be found who are willing to work at that rate.

The Reverend Pentecost opened his Anti-Poverty Church in Masonic Temple on Sunday morning, and Henry George was present to see how it worked. It was announced at the start that the services would be held every Sunday morning as long as the amount of the collections warranted their continuance. This, as we understand it, is the fundamental doctrine of the anti-poverty creed—namely, a good collection. No poverty can be abolished without that. Mr. Pentecost, in order, probably, not to cut off the collection at the Academy in the evening, will call his society the "Unity Congregation." He said that he did not propose "to make Christians, but good men," and that "agnostics, atheists, infidels, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, all," were welcome to come and submit themselves to the process. On Sunday the work was helped forward by an organ and a cornet, and the preacher declared that he was convinced that neither the Christian Church nor the country lived up to the "doctrine of the brotherhood of man," that the relations of capital and labor, the class distinctions between the rich and the poor, and the condition of the universe generally, "were all wrong, and this pulpit would so preach." It is to be hoped that the collections will continue large, for the Rev. Pentecost has no less a task on hand than the reformation of the world, and it would be a pity to have that fail through lack of funds.

Collector Magone, having been misled by suppression or misrepresentation of facts to appoint a horse-race gambler to an important position in the Custom-house, has, after being made better acquainted with the man's antecedents, suspended him for further investigation. This action, so unusual in a high public officer, calls for special commendation—more, we think, than a refusal to appoint such a man in the first instance. It has become almost an axiom in politics that if you have made a mistake in the appointment of a bad character to a public place, you ought never to acknowledge it, but rather brazen it out, because by and by the public will find something else to talk about, and thus your infallibility will not receive the shock implied by reversing your own action. Collector Magone takes a different view, holding, apparently, that if he has been deceived, he is himself the principal sufferer, and that the best way to vindicate his powers of judgment is to correct his mistakes as soon as he discovers them. No great talent is required in dealing with dilemmas of this kind, but it is strange that so few people possess it.

The Commission to "investigate and report the most humane and practicable method of carrying into effect the sentence of death in capital cases" in this State have made their report to the Legislature. It is much to be regretted that there should be so much extraneous matter in it. One whole page is given to a list of capital offences under the Mosaic code. Forty-four pages out of a total of one hundred are devoted to minute and revolting descriptions of the various modes of inflicting the punishment of death resorted to by different nations, civilized and barbarous, in various ages. The report ends by recommending the substitution of electricity for hanging as a means of inflicting the punishment of death, both as more certain and more humane, and as more easily used without miscarriage. The observations of the Commissioners on the scandals resulting from the

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delivery of the bodies of criminals after execution to their friends for interment, will meet with a hearty response from the public, at least in this city. The "wakes" and triumphant funerals to which the remains of murdering scoundrels have often, after hanging, been treated by their criminal friends and acquaintances in New York, have done much to deprive the death penalty of its horrors among the class for whose benefit it is specially intended. In New Jersey a statute exacts a bond from the persons applying for the body of an executed criminal, conditioned on their refraining from any public funeral, and makes violation of the act a misdemeanor. The Commission recommend that in this State the bodies of all such criminals be given to the medical profession for dissection, and be then buried under quicklime in the prison cemetery or graveyard. This is the practice, we believe, of all other civilized peoples, and it is a wholesome one.

The California sugar-refiners and Sandwich Island planters, who have been enjoying a very artificial monopoly for many years at the expense of the United States Government—their sugar being admitted duty free, while all other raw sugars are taxed nearly or quite 100 per cent.—are greatly disturbed by the rumor that the Eastern sugar-refiners have consented to a reduction of one-half of the sugar duties. The California brethren have assumed that the Eastern refiners have consented only to the reduction on raw sugars, intending that sugar shall not be made any cheaper to consumers, but only to themselves. We are not in the confidence of the "Sugar Trust," but we are well convinced that they do not expect any such absurd arrangement as a reduction of the duty on raw sugar without an equal reduction on refined, because in the first place they could not get it, and in the second place they consider themselves able to compete on equal terms with anybody in the world in their line of business. What they chiefly object to is the bonus allowed to California refiners under the Hawaiian Treaty, by means of which sugars which have paid no tax are sent East to compete with the duty-paid article.

The European sugar bounties are in a fair way towards extinction. The London Conference, embracing representatives of all the beet-growing countries, put the seal of condemnation on the bounty system by unanimous vote. There are, indeed, some difficulties of detail to be overcome, and some time must elapse in order to close out existing contracts before the bounties can be wholly abolished; but the spirit in which the Conference acted leaves little doubt that the end of the system draws near. The delegates to the Conference are to meet again in London on the 5th of April, furnished with the latest instructions of their governments. The difficulties of detail will then be settled and a time fixed for stopping the bounties. It was agreed that sugar for export should be manufactured in bond so far as practicable, and that where this was not practicable, the drawback on exportation should be made exactly equal to the import or excise duty. After the reform is once effected, the whole world will wonder how it could ever have happened that a civilized country should offer a cash premium in order to rid itself of one of the most valuable products of human skill and the earth's fertility. A more grotesque conceit never entered into the skull of man.

Experiments made with fiat money in the republic of Peru are having a disastrous termination, but the action of the Government in the matter is open to grave doubt. When a government has stolen the real money of its subjects and filled their pockets with irredeemable paper, and when, in the course of time, the butcher, the baker and candlestick-maker refuse to sell their wares and merchandise for that kind of funds, the obviously proper course to pursue is to arrest those disloyal persons and appoint proper officers to sell their goods for them, taking in payment the lawful money of the country. If it is objected that after the stock in hand is thus sold no more will come in from the country, then let the soldiers go into the country and serve the farmers the same way. Instead of pursuing a course so well calculated to inspire confidence in the strength of the Government, we read that when the inhabitants of Lima wanted to mob the provision dealers, the police interfered and would not allow them to do so. They even fired on the people, and wounded several boys who were taking part in the proceedings for fun. The most indefensible act, however, was the protection extended by the Government to the money-changers. These scoundrels abound in all fiat-money countries, and they are the more numerous in proportion to the badness of the money. Consequently Lima is alive with them. What is more natural than the inference that they have connived with the butcher, the baker and candlestickmaker to refuse to sell their goods, in order to force a still heavier premium on the precious metals? Yet when the people "went for" the money-changers the police drove them off. But the miscreants became alarmed and fled from the town, so that "on December 10 there was not a single money-changer or business house in Lima selling silver soles for paper money." The people then tried to do business on half soles—that is, by tearing their paper soles in two—but this didn't work. At the latest advices all the banks were closed, the retail stores were closing, and a revolution was impending.

The English advertisements for 1887 of "Next of Kin Wanted," and persons who might "learn something greatly to their advantage," are less dramatic than sometimes happens, but yet are of varied nature and not without peculiar interest for some persons in this country. Jacob Herbert, "last heard of in Pennsylvania," will lose something handsome if he does not soon "materialize," and so will William Barnes, "last heard of in Chicago," and Albert and Alice Morris, who were taken to Canada and adopted by separate families. The heirs-at-law of Henry Blizzard should, of course, be looked for in Manitoba or Montana. Unless Joseph Prunty, a shopkeeper, who left Ireland for America in 1880, makes himself known within a given date, letters of administration will be granted to his next-of-kin as if he had died intestate. Near New York, perhaps, may be found persons sought who are "interested in unclaimed dividends of the West New Jersey Society (1692-3)." Lapse of time seems little to affect the ardor of search in the slow-going Old-World country, the Bank of England having issued many advertisements respecting the retransfer of unclaimed dividends (claimants having appeared), including three cases in which the dividends had remained unclaimed since 1763, 1797, and 1798. Persons claiming to be entitled to a fund standing in the name of Anna Sheppard, who is believed to have died in 1741, are only now invoked. The Treasury Solicitor sought the next-of-kin in some forty "Crown windfall" cases, the owners of these estates having died intestate without known heirs. It may be here noted that, by the recent decision of Mr. Justice Chitty in the Heathcote case, the Crown comes into a "windfall" of £200,000 by reason of the death of a lunatic in 1884 without known next-of-kin. A very considerable sum accrues annually to the Crown from this source, but it is only after extreme efforts to discover next-of-kin all over the world, more especially in the widespread remote British possessions. Some curious cases arose out of the Presumption of Life Limitation (Scotland) Act, under which relatives sought to "uplift and enjoy" the estates of persons who, having failed to report themselves for periods of seven years or upwards, were supposed to be dead.

Lord Salisbury's blunt announcement at Liverpool that inasmuch as it is the Liberal Unionists who keep the Tories in office, the Tories must do what the Liberal Unionists please, seems to be taken to mean that the County Government Bill, whenever it comes, will be thoroughly democratic, and will hand the counties over completely to representative assemblies. As this would finally oust the landholders from influence and authority which they have enjoyed ever since England became a nation, it might be considered the most important proposal ever made by an English Minister. If the way for it had not been prepared by the extension of the suffrage and the ballot, it would probably startle the Conservatives even more than it does. It will be very interesting to see whether they care enough about Ireland to be willing to make this prodigious and final sacrifice for the purpose of holding her in subjection, because this democratization of the counties is the price they are paying for "the unity of the empire" and the discomfiture of Gladstone. If they were rid of the Irish, and Gladstone were no longer formidable, they would be able to make a tolerably good fight in the English constituencies on English questions,

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THE EFFECT OF THE MESSAGE.

THE boldness and novelty of the President's message naturally created more or less uncertainty, both as to its effects on public opinion and on his own political fortunes. It was expected that it would be long, but it turned out to be almost unprecedentedly short. It was expected to deal lightly with a great number of topics, but it dealt with only one, and this thoroughly. It was expected that it would avoid all burning questions, so as not to imperil his renomination, which seemed to be assured by the New York election, but it took up the most burning question of the day, and treated it with utter disregard of its possible effects on the canvass of 1888. It is not surprising that a performance of this sort should have puzzled a great many people, and especially the veterans of political management, to whom it seemed simple foolishness, the spoiling of a magnificent situation. Their sensations were very like honest old Wurmser's in Italy when he was assailed by the young Napoleon in a manner which violated all the rules of the art as taught down to that day. Wurmser had a long line, manned by three excellent divisions, and he expected Napoleon to attack him along the whole line with three divisions also. Instead of this, Napoleon took his three divisions all together, and with them attacked Wurmser's, not all together, but one by one, which Wurmser considered both unfair and reprehensible, but it entirely answered Napoleon's purpose.

All Presidential messages which have been sent to Congress since the war have fallen perfectly flat, except this last one, and yet they were all composed according to usage, both as regards matter and manner. They were of great length and touched on everything, but threw no new light on anything, and were forgotten almost as soon as read. To President Cleveland belongs the honor of having for the first time since Lincoln produced a message which is, in the highest and best sense of the term, a state paper—that is, a paper which sets people thinking, which affects opinion, and which extracts from the mass of issues the really vital and pressing question of the day, the only one which can be neither ignored, nor postponed, nor made light of.

It has now been six weeks before the country, and we have ample means of determining what its effects have been. The first and most plainly observable of these effects is that it has raised the President's character in the estimation of both friends and foes. Those who most severely condemned the message from the party point of view acknowledge that it shows courage and disinterestedness. In other words, in writing it the President has given the strongest evidence he could possibly give, that he is a man of sincere convictions, and that he would rather be right than be President. Other men before him have said this, but he is the only man who has demonstrated it even in the eyes of his enemies or detractors. In other words, every one who calls him a fool on account of it pays the highest possible tribute to his character. In no way could he so well dispose of the conclusions about him, drawn of late from his apparent lapses from virtue in the matter of civil-service reform, as by unnecessarily putting in peril his chances of renomination, and this is what some of the shrewd politicians thought a month ago that he had done.

We for our part have all along felt assured that his folly in this matter was really the highest wisdom—not the wisdom which comes from calculation, but from sudden inspiration. For courage is, after all, the quality which most readily touches the popular imagination in men put in high places by the popular vote. People pardon a great deal of planning and contriving and giving and taking in a man who is striving for the Presidency; but when he is in the office, the proof of fitness they most appreciate is readiness to put his foot down, to say the right thing at the right time, or even the right thing at the wrong time, without regard to consequences. If the history of the American Presidency teaches anything clearly, it is that the way of the wavering, vacillating, timid man is even harder than that of the bold sinner.

But this is by no means all. The message has also had the extraordinary fortune of receiving an amount of commendation and acceptance from men of the opposite political party, which has fallen to the lot of no similar document since Lincoln appealed to Americans of every party to save the Union. We could easily give the most abundant proofs of this culled from Republican newspapers in all parts of the country. We presume there is not one of our readers who cannot produce similar testimony from his own experience. Tens of thousands of those who did not vote for Cleveland in 1884, and have never since been quite willing to avow that they had made a mistake, have been convinced by the message that he is the man for the times.

Not less significant is the gradual cessation of even the very feeble murmurs which at first came from the Protectionist portion of the Democratic press. Day by day their protests have been becoming feebler, and the arguments in favor of the maintenance of a surplus for politicians to "handle," more and more absurd. There is now an almost general agreement that a surplus must not form a permanent feature of American finance, and the most spiteful enemies of the President find no refuge except in the statement that "if the surplus has to be abolished, it sha'n't be done in Cleveland's way." We do not believe, however, that any rejection of his suggestions as to means will sensibly diminish the impression produced by the manner in which he has called attention to the end. No matter how the evil is cured, he will get the credit of having laid it bare in such a way that every man, woman, and child in the country could see and understand it and measure it. He has, in other words, no matter how the taxes may now be reduced, taught the nation, with a master hand, a lesson in finance which will be constantly recalled in the efforts to keep down the public burdens that will henceforth have to be made every year until we get down to the bed-rock of all politics—that people should pay into the public Treasury only the sums necessary to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare."

THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

THE bill which has been presented to the Senate by Mr. Chace, but which it is an open secret was drawn up by a well-known Philadelphia publisher, may be briefly described to be a bill amending that portion of the Revised Statutes of the United States which acknowledges an author's or artist's equitable claim to the fruits of his mental labor, and grants a certain legal protection therefor—in such wise that this protection is secured not only to authors or artists who are citizens of the United States, but to mental workers the world over. The United States has been, for many years, perhaps the only civilized country which has failed to recognize the claims of the author to a reward for his labor without regard to his individual nationality. To our eternal national disgrace, it must be frankly admitted that this delay in granting an act of simple justice has been entirely due to the fact that honest legislation would affect the purses of American citizens. And the tardy measure of justice which our Congress is now called upon to consider is impaired by two regrettable limitations of the very right which it is the purport of the proposed act to establish and grant. It is admitted that when legislatures accord legal protection to what has been acknowledged as the moral right of any class, they may limit the exercise of such right, by virtue of considerations affecting the general good of the whole people. And all States, with a single noticeable exception, have abridged the property rights of authors, by according legal protection to such rights for a limited period of time. In no case, however, is legislation justified which attempts to restrain the exercise of the universally admitted right of any one class for the benefit of any other class, but only when such limitation is beneficial to the whole people.

According to Senate bill 554, the rights secured to the American author by the Domestic Copyright Law are abridged when the law is extended to include the foreign author—firstly, by refusing to permit the latter to manufacture his book wherever he pleases; and, secondly, by further refusing to permit him to supply whatever demand there may be in this country for copies of his authorized foreign edition. Stipulations of this nature have never hampered the international copyright legislation of European States. As contributors to the American press, with a regrettable lack of ingenuousness, have striven to give the impression that the American author is obliged by law to print and publish his work in the United States, it may be briefly but emphatically stated that the Copyright Law of the United States in no wise prevents an author who is a

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citizen of this country from printing his book abroad, binding it abroad, or writing it abroad—anywhere in the wide world that he may choose; and not once but many times has this occurred, notable examples being the later novels of Mr. Henry James and Mr. Marion Crawford.

The instigators of these curtailments of the foreign author's rights defend the first upon the ground that compulsory printing in this country is necessary to secure books of sufficient cheapness to be beneficial, by their great circulation, to the people at large; and that the good secured to the masses through cheap books justifies the limitation put upon the right of the comparatively few authors. But the honesty of this defence may be doubted so long as the second prohibition remains, because even the dullest intellect can perceive that if, as is claimed, compulsory printing in this country is necessary in order to prevent English publishers from forcing upon American readers high-priced English editions, a prohibition of import can only be added because of a fear that the English copyright owner *may* choose to send into this country an authorized edition which could be sold to American readers at a smaller price than the enforced American reprint. But is not a book printed in England at a lower price of equal benefit "to the masses" with the same book printed in this country at a higher price?

We have before insisted that there is no precedent in the foreign copyright laws for such prohibition of importation as is contemplated in this bill. But to return to this point again, it may be well to indicate briefly just what is stipulated in the copyright legislation of countries which present a problem similar to our own, by reason of both countries having one language. We could hardly desire a more suitable instance than that of France and Belgium. The latest copyright treaty between these countries went into effect May 16, 1882. This convention consists of seventeen articles, of which two relate to the importation into either of the countries of copies of works upon which there is copyright in one or the other of them. Section 9 prohibits the importation, exportation, circulation, or sale in each of the two countries of *unauthorized* reproductions, whether such unauthorized reprints proceed from either of the two countries or from any foreign country. This stipulation naturally occurs in all copyright treaties as well as in all domestic copyright laws. The American author by our own law enjoys the protection of a similar prohibition of unauthorized reprints, whether the latter are made and sold in the United States or are printed in Canada or elsewhere and imported into our territory. In section 3 it is further stipulated that the Belgian and French Governments shall take the necessary measures to prohibit the entry into their respective territories of works which the Belgian or French publishers may have acquired the right to reprint, with the reservation that such republications shall not be authorized to be sold in the country of their origin. For example, a French author sells to a Brussels publisher the right to print an edition of his book for Belgium, but with the stipulation that this edition shall not be sent into France to compete with the original French issue. The second paragraph of the article requires that each copy of such Belgian edition must bear upon its title-page and cover the words: "Edition prohibited in France, but authorized for Belgium and abroad." In like manner, if there should be a copyright treaty between England and the United States, we should naturally expect that it would be stipulated that the American reprint, for example, of Matthew Arnold's poems should not be allowed to be imported into England to compete there with the English copyright edition; and in the same way the American publisher of Henry James's novels would need to be protected against the possible flooding of this market with the cheaper English edition, copyrighted there under treaty arrangements. There is nothing in this convention between France and Belgium to hinder in any way the competing sale in either of the two countries of the edition of a work first published by authority of the author in any one of them. Nor does the Belgian copyright law of March 22, 1886, contain any enactment whatever which circumscribes the distribution of a foreign author's original edition.

The position of Canada towards England, as regards the question of protecting the English author in the former country, presents a parallel to the problem which Senate bill 554 attempts to solve. But although the Canadian Copyright Law, which was revised and consolidated in 1886, is intended to encourage the republishing in that country of the works of English authors, and grants a Canadian copyright upon all books so reprinted, care is taken in section 6 of the above act to explain that "nothing in this act shall be held to prohibit the importation from the United Kingdom of copies of any such work lawfully printed there."

THE SUGAR-BOUNTY CONFERENCE.

The system of granting bounties upon exports at the same time that duties are imposed upon imports is one that appeals with irresistible logic to the protectionist intellect. There is something so beautifully symmetrical about it. The duty upon imports pays Paul by taxing Peter and the other ten. The bounty upon exports "evens things up" by taxing Paul and the other ten in order to pay Peter. The duty upon imports makes the balance of trade in a nation's favor by reducing importations. The bounty upon exports doubles this balance by increasing exportations. The duty gives employment to labor by shutting out foreign products; the bounty accomplishes the same great end by sending out native products. The duty raises the price of one class of products, the bounty raises the price of another; and the two classes of industries thus stimulated furnish a home market, which supports the remainder of the country in ease and affluence. In short, the two systems working together attain the high ideal of shutting out all possible goods, sending out all possible goods, and keeping what remains at the highest possible price.

Yet, in spite of these obvious advantages, the European Conference just held on the question of the sugar bounties has ended in a unanimous condemnation of the system. Every one of the sugar-producing nations was represented—Germany, Austria, France, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. With the exception of little Belgium, all agreed upon the plan of manufacturing sugar in bond, in order to prevent the possibility that rebates to exporters should serve as a cloak for further bounties. As Belgium is as anxious as the rest to be rid of the bounty system, she will probably, says the London *Spectator*, accept the method approved by the rest. There seems to be little doubt that all the legislatures will ratify the agreement of their representatives, and thus suddenly bring to an end a system which has been steadily growing for almost a century.

Ever since the Napoleonic wars the beet-root sugar industries have had every possible favor shown them by all the fiscal bureaus of Continental Europe. It was during the Napoleonic wars that these industries took their start. For a number of years the wars themselves furnished the necessary protection, but when peace finally brought with it the ever-attending calamity of low prices, the people were kept from suffering the injurious effects by the imposition of heavy duties. Inasmuch as the land on which the beet-root was grown, and many of the factories at which it was refined, were owned by the country gentlemen who everywhere controlled the legislatures, the new industry had no difficulty in obtaining the protection it desired.

But by and by the protective duties were insufficient to satisfy the demands of the sugar interest, and Government aid was asked that foreign markets might be invaded. At first this demand was made modestly. The interest consented to have taxes imposed upon the beet-root—so much per ton—and asked that a compensating rebate should be given them on the sugar exported. Of course nothing could be fairer. The request was at once granted, and the same thing happened as occurred in our own country when, during the civil war, the internal-revenue taxes were first levied. The question arose, How large a rebate is necessary to compensate for the new taxes on the raw materials? To determine this required expert testimony, and only those who were interested in the case were deemed competent to act as jurors to decide it. Practical sugar men were left to settle the question. The governments, of course, maintained their time-honored reputation for generosity, and refrained from haggling over the terms proposed.

But soon a new complication arose. The sugar men of one nation began to plead that their competitors in some other nation were more highly favored than themselves. This led to competitive generosity on the part of the governments. Meanwhile, the process of manufacturing had undergone great changes. It became possible to extract double as much sugar as formerly from the same quantity of beet-root. The rebates were not lowered, and all these influences act-

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ing together finally brought matters to such a crisis that in Austria the Government has been paying out a larger sum upon the sugar exported than it collects from the entire sugar taxes.

For several years various governments have evinced signs of restlessness. Not only were the fiscal results of the bounty system lamentably unsatisfactory, but it was found that instead of protecting a home industry at the expense of foreign laborers, the bounties had resulted in protecting foreign laborers from the expense of paying for their sugar the actual cost of its production. The competition among the refiners compelled them to share their bounties with their customers. Their own people were compelled to pay prices abnormally high, in order that foreigners might buy at prices abnormally low.

This state of affairs staggered even the protection intellects which have charge of the financial systems of the Continent. They wished themselves well rid of the spoiled child whose whims they had so long been gratifying. But a reversal of policy was not easily to be brought about. The country which abolished the bounty system first must expect to find its exporters underbid by their competitors. The subsidized interests were too strong to be treated in this way. Accordingly, Germany, Austria, and France found themselves dependent upon the fiscal policies of Belgium and Spain. Nothing could be done until universal agreement should be reached as to what must be done. The fact that such an agreement has now been reached is conclusive evidence how intense and universal was the conviction that the long-continued bounty system had proved a complete failure.

BALLOT REFORM.

THERE is evidently going to be no lack of plans for reforming our ballot laws before the Legislature this winter. At least three are in sight now. Mr. Saxton, Chairman of the Assembly Judiciary Committee, is known to have been at work upon one for several weeks past, and a committee of experts in this city have been at work upon another since early in November last. In the Assembly, on Friday, Mr. Hamilton presented still another, which is said to have been drawn by Mr. Elihu Root, who did the work in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Union League Club a short time ago. The latter is the first to appear in the form of a bill, and we presume the intention of its sponsor, Mr. Hamilton, is to have it wait in the Committee until the other plans appear in bill form, in order that there may be made from them a composite measure which shall embody the wisdom of the three. This ought to be a comparatively easy matter, since the three will all be based upon the general principles of the English and Australian laws, which have been so successful in practice.

The bill introduced by Mr. Hamilton has evidently been drawn somewhat hastily, and we presume that it is introduced thus early in order to get a high place for it on the calendar, its authors expecting to have it amended and strengthened in Committee. It provides for the printing and distributing of ballots at the public expense, and authorizes the appointment of two ballot clerks of different political faith to attend to the additional work thus provided at each polling-place. The polling-places are to be enlarged, and furnished with a compartment to which voters may retire to select their ballots. Two weeks before election day, petitions to print ballots are to be handed to the officials charged with the conduct of elections. These petitions are to be signed in writing, and may come from county committees of each political party that cast one-tenth of the votes polled at the last election, in which case they must be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee. Petitions may come also from one per cent. of the voters themselves, in which case all the signatures of such voters must be appended and verified in the same manner as signatures to a deed are. Every petition must be accompanied by a deposit of five dollars for every thousand votes cast by the political organization filing it. The money so received is to be used to aid in defraying the expense of printing, the county paying the deficiency in case the petition money is inadequate.

The ballots are to be printed in books, each ballot having its own stub, and to be numbered consecutively. Each set of petitions is to be entitled to books for its own ticket, bearing its party name or title, the same not to exceed two words. A full set of ticket-books is to be provided at each polling-place before the polls are opened. When a voter comes to the polls, he will be handed a full set of tickets, and his name and residence will be inscribed upon the stubs by the clerks. He can then retire to the compartment, and select one ballot of each of the kinds which he intends to vote, and make such alterations upon them as he wishes. Those which he does not use he must destroy in the presence of the ballot clerks. The bill contains a clause prohibiting the peddling of ballots in the polling-places, and one authorizing the arrest, without the formality of securing a warrant, of any person who enters the polling-place and leaves it without voting. It is the intention of another clause to prohibit the distribution of ballots by anybody but the authorized ballot clerks. Voters may write their ballots, but nobody save the authorized printers shall print them.

So far as this bill takes the work of printing and distributing the ballots out of the irresponsible hands of the political workers and puts it into the hands of the responsible agents of the State, to be done at the public expense, it is a step in the right direction. But there are defects in its provisions in regard to the details of the work which we have no doubt will be remedied in Committee. There seems to be, for example, no sufficient warrant for demanding a fee upon the filing of petitions. That requirement is a recognition of the idea which prevails under our present system, that there is some obligation upon the political organizations to pay the expense of printing. There is no such obligation. The State is amply able to bear the slight expense of printing, and candidates should no more be "assessed" for that than they should be for the expense of providing ballot-boxes or any other part of the election machinery.

The most defective feature of the bill is that relating to the form of ballots. It provides for separate sets of ballots for every political party. This would lead to a confusing number of ballot books. At every general election in this city there are at least seven separate tickets and seven separate boxes for their reception, and at Presidential elections there are more. Now, suppose we had in the field two Democratic tickets, a Republican ticket, a Labor ticket, a Prohibition ticket, and a Citizens' ticket—for under the provision of the law allowing voters the right to petition for a ticket, this would be a not improbable list. On a general election we should then have six separate organizations, each entitled to have sets of seven separate books, making a grand total of forty-two ballot-books in each polling-place. The confusion and delay thus caused would be sufficient to defeat the election, for under the provisions of the bill each voter would have to be provided with the forty-two tickets, and the two clerks would be obliged to write his name and residence on forty-two stubs before he could proceed to select his ballots. Then it would be necessary for the clerks to count carefully the ballots which the voter rejected before destroying them. All this would require so much time that either our polling-places would have to be greatly multiplied, or no more than a fraction of the vote could be polled. There are other objections to the system proposed, but this of itself is fatal.

A far simpler solution of the ballot-form question is to have all the names for any particular office printed upon one ballot, with the politics of each candidate placed after his name, and a blank space at the bottom for the writing in of any name not on the list. This would require only seven or eight separate ballot-books, would not require the destruction of any unused ballots, and would not cause delay. It seems to be not only entirely unnecessary to require the writing of the voter's name and address on the stub, but, what is worse, calculated to destroy, partially at least, the secrecy of the ballot. The consecutive numbering of tickets and stubs, together with a simple provision requiring the ballot-clerks to stamp with their initials, or in some other way, the back of each ballot, would be sufficient to prevent fraudulent voting.

These and other points have been gone over with great care by experts who have been studying this subject for more than a year past, and we have no doubt that Mr. Hamilton will be glad to use the results of their labor when they shall be embodied, as they will be shortly, in a carefully drawn bill. This question is one of far too great importance to be made either a partisan or a personal one in any way, and we trust it will not be. What we need is a simple, comprehensive, and thoroughly practicable law applying to the

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whole State, and there is happily so large a public sentiment in favor of such a measure that we are hopeful that the Legislature will give it to us at this session.

GLADSTONE.

DURING the past fortnight there has been a great deal of dining among English Liberals in honor of Mr. Gladstone's seventy-eighth birthday, and a great deal of discussion, apropos of the event, in the newspapers of both parties, of the part he has played and is still playing in English history. Nobody attempts to deny the greatness of his place in English politics and in the love and admiration of a very large portion, fully one-half, of the English, and almost the whole of the Scotch and Welsh and Irish people. His influence with "the masses," to use a term he has himself coined, is probably stronger than that of any other English statesman has ever been. On the other hand, he is hated and abused by "the classes," *i. e.*, the nobility, gentry, and clergy, with a virulence and bitterness which have hitherto been unknown in English public life. There has certainly never been in England a man sufficiently favored by fortune to be able to reach the Premiership, of whom educated Englishmen and English women permit themselves to speak with so much scurrility. In fact, they constantly denounce him even to foreigners in terms of which, before our time, national pride, if no other feeling, would have forbidden the use about any man great enough to form a British Cabinet and lead the House of Commons. And, what is also novel as well as melancholy, in a vast number of cases this denunciation is as unreasoning and as ill-informed as it is vehement. We have often tried the experiment—even before the days of home rule—of asking what it was that Gladstone had done to make him so odious, and have found that the question was a futile one, and that denunciation had no better basis than the fact that this was the fashionable view of Gladstone's character and career. Every now and then, too, one comes across Americans who have been sufficiently infected with it to look on him as in some manner a "dangerous man," whose attacks on the British Constitution are shaking the foundations of social and political order all over the world. But those who take this view of one of the greatest figures of the nineteenth century, who, with Bismarck and Lincoln and Darwin, will almost certainly go down to posterity as one of its chief glories and illustrations, ought, before his final disappearance from the scene, which in the order of nature cannot be very far off, to make themselves acquainted in some slight degree with the leading facts of his history and with the part he has played in British politics.

They will find at the very outset of their inquiries that much of the prejudice against him in England among university and professional and scientific men is due to the frequency with which his unbounded intellectual activity and fluency with the pen carry him into fields which are not his own, and in which, nevertheless, the long habit of command in politics makes him talk in the tones of a master when his knowledge is really that of a pupil. He has been so much absorbed in politics during the past fifty years that he forgets at times the strides which criticism and physical science have made since he left college, and thus sometimes permits himself dashes into controversies in which his discomfiture at the hands of the first expert he encounters is certain and even easy. His contention with Prof. Huxley, two or three years ago, about the Mosaic account of the origin of animal life, was a misadventure of this character, which gave his enemies much comfort, and, coming on the top of growing political prejudice, lost him the confidence of a good many to whom thoroughness in any knowledge one attempts to display is an indication of character. But the place in which to form a sound estimate of Gladstone, as indeed of any man, is the field which he has chosen for the display of his best energies. Politics has been so much the greater part of his life that, when one has judged him as a statesman, what is left to be passed on as a Homeric commentator or Biblical critic is hardly worth attention.

He entered political life when he left college, fifty-five years ago, as all readers of Macaulay's Essays know, as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories" of that day. But he never had the real stuff of a Tory statesman in him, and his drift towards Liberalism began almost as soon as he entered the House of Commons. He was Sir Robert Peel's chief aid and supporter in that great fiscal and social revolution in England, the repeal of the Corn Laws. He soon after played the chief part in the repeal of the Navigation Laws. He then paid a visit to Italy, and spent his days in Naples, not in sunning himself at Capri, but in visiting the prisons, in which he found a dozen men of the highest character literally rotting in dungeons as plotters against the odious rule of King Bomba. He wrote when he came home an account of it all in a pamphlet, which literally rang round the world and compelled the Neapolitan Government, for very shame, to liberate Poerio and his companions.

From that day his sympathies were all, as he has himself expressed it, with human liberty. His extraordinary capacity in dealing with finance gave him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer for the first time in 1853. His first budget was perhaps the first English budget after the abolition of the Corn Laws which could be distinctly called the budget of the poor. It abolished the tax on soap and 133 other duties. It reduced the duty on tea from fifty-five to twenty cents a pound. It reduced the duty on butter, cheese, eggs, and fruit, took off half the tax then levied on advertisements, reduced the tax on policies of life insurance. But his talent was not only shown in remissions. He was equally skilled in the distribution of new taxes, in the reduction of the national debt. In 1864 he began to plead for the extension of the suffrage. In 1867 he brought in a bill for the purpose, but was defeated by a Liberal secession very much like that which has taken place on the Irish question, so that it was the Tories who actually passed the measure. When he took office again in 1868, he disestablished the Irish Church, began a reform in the Irish land laws, and carried through, in coöperation with Mr. Forster, the creation for the first time in England of a system of national education, and gave the new voters the protection of a secret ballot. Between his leaving office in 1874 and his return in 1880 he devoted himself to agitation against the war in Afghanistan and for the deliverance of the Bulgarians from the Turkish yoke. In 1881 he again attacked the Irish difficulty by a further change in the land laws, and was again driven out by the failure of an attempt to apply a still more radical remedy to Irish discontent.

In a brief summary like this, of course, no adequate idea can be given of the extent to which Mr. Gladstone has, as a legislator, influenced British politics and society. We pass over without notice numerous smaller measures—such as the redemption of the army from the system of purchase, which virtually made it the private property of the officers—by which the administration was improved or rid of useless encumbrances. In truth, when one examines in detail the marks which Mr. Gladstone has left on the statute-book, one recognizes at once the fact that no English Minister can be compared to him in the double capacity of debater and legislator, except Pitt, in the nine years between the close of the American war and the outbreak of the French Revolution. But Pitt's labors in the field of reform were brief, and the memory of his beneficent activity in that period was all but effaced by the long, bloody, and costly contest into which he plunged the country after the death of the French King. Gladstone leaves behind him no such dreadful legacy. The two conspicuous failures of his long career have been the attempt to pacify Ireland and to rescue Gordon. The issue of the first has, however, still to be seen, and the last was rather the work of the British public in one of its fits of chivalrous insanity, than of Mr. Gladstone. It was said by somebody that all the other Marshals of Louis XIV. and XV. were only "change for Turenne" (*la monnaie de Turenne*). So, also, one might say that all the other British statesmen who have appeared on the scene since Sir Robert Peel's death are only "change for Gladstone."

A SPANISH PLAY IN GERMANY.

STRASSBURG, January.

PAUL LINDAU, writing in the December *Nord und Süd* about the younger German novelists, expresses a belief that no young man engaged to-day in creative literature can affirm of himself that he is free from the influences exerted upon the intellectual current of our time by "the strongest spirits of the north and south, whether one calls them Zola, Ibsen, or Echegaray." It is only a year since the performance in Berlin of Ibsen's "Spectres," noticed in the *Nation* at the time, drew general attention in Germany to the works of the Norwegian author; and as the average reading public asked then "Who is Ibsen?" so it is asking to-day "Who is Echegaray?"—the third "strong spirit" in our group of realists.

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Singularly enough, it is to the Meiningen Theatre, where the "Spectres" was played long before Ibsen had gained his present reputation, that Echegaray also owes his introduction to Germany. He has figured respectably in Madrid politics, and has been at least once a member of the Spanish Cabinet, while his literary reputation rests upon some thirty plays, none of which, however, gained him any name outside of Spain until Paul Lindau translated and adapted "Galeotto" for the German stage and it was played in the Meiningen Theatre. Last February "Galeotto" was printed in *Nord und Süd*, and during the present theatrical season it has been given in many of the leading German cities, and is everywhere admitted to be a piece of singular power.

It consists of a prologue and three acts. The scene is laid in the capital, and the time is the present. *Andreas Hennersdorf*, an elderly business man, married to a young wife, *Julie*, has for a year made his house the home of a young author, *Ernst Adenau*. The motive is the gratitude felt by *Andreas* for a great service done him years before by *Ernst's* father, and the relation between the three persons is one of ideal friendship. The prologue passes in the study of *Ernst*, who has stayed away from the theatre one evening in order to work upon a drama of his own. There is a knock at his half-open door, and *Julie* enters in evening dress, inquiring what fortune he has had in his writing, and narrating gayly how all the world had asked for him at the theatre, and wondered why he was not in *Andreas's* box, as usual. *Ernst* replies that these persons who take such a kindly interest in him may have a rôle in his drama, and then, in order to explain to *Julie* how he had taken a hint from the Francesca da Rimini episode in Dante, he reads her a ballad which he proposes to weave into his piece. The ballad relates that Dante's lovers read together the book of Lancelot, which tells how the brave Lancelot was conquered by love and stood confused before his queen until Galeotto, the middleman, brought the two together and then stole away, and that, as Dante's lovers read, they sighed, and the book became their Galeotto, and their lips touched, "and on that day they read no more." *Ernst* names the ballad "Galeotto," because he was the leading personage; Guinevere would have remained faithful, and Lancelot would have ridden off to the wars and forgotten his love, if Galeotto had not laid the wood together and touched the match and then crept away with a smile. He is the guilty person, not merely in this tragedy, but in almost every tragedy of human life.

At this point *Andreas* enters, relating laughingly, as *Julie* had done, how everybody had inquired for *Ernst* at the theatre, and how often he had to explain that *Ernst* was neither his son nor his relative. Then he asks after the progress of the new play, and, like the good-hearted Philistine that he is, tries vainly to follow the young poet's explanation of his difficulties. The main personage cannot be brought upon the stage at all, *Ernst* says, because this personage is no less than "everybody"; it is public opinion; it cannot be typified without producing a commonplace stage villain, and the catastrophe must not be brought on through villany, but merely through thoughtlessness and indifference; the conventional love story is wanting, though love and jealousy are the mainsprings of the action; the situations are as commonplace as possible; and the play has not even a title. "My dear fellow," says *Andreas*, "you are a dreamer. Come, drink a cup of tea with us, take a good night's sleep, and to-morrow we will go partridge shooting." But *Ernst* is determined to work out his task, and *Andreas* and *Julie* bid him good-night. "I will write it," he cries to himself. "I will show how out of a thousand nothings—smiles, looks, shrugs—a frightful something is born; how through their gossip they make that which was a lie at last a truth, and the title shall be 'Galeotto'!"

The first act shows us *Andreas* and *Julie* in their salon. He is troubled about something, and admits at last his fear that the high-spirited *Ernst* is not at ease in his position. *Ernst* enters with something to say to them both. He is sure that people do not understand the ideal relation in which *Andreas* has received him into the house, that the relation is misconstrued, and that it would be better for him to leave at once. For proof he points to the upper story of the same house, occupied by *Andreas's* brother, *Alfred*, with his wife, *Therese*, and their society-loving son, *Walter*. It is with these gossipers that we have to do in the remainder of the act. They are admirably depicted: they simply repeat what "everybody" says; of course, they themselves would gladly believe in the uprightness of their friends, but still society is talking about *Ernst's* anomalous position, and the family honor is endangered. *Julie* and *Andreas* answer them with scorn; the latter will insist upon *Ernst's* accepting the duties of confidential secretary; he will not allow him to leave; he will defy the gossip of fools. But *Alfred* is persistent, and, as the curtain falls, to *Andreas's* honest anger and contempt there is added the merest touch of indecision.

The second act passes some weeks later in a bare room rented by *Ernst*, who, it seems, has been allowed to leave *Andreas's* house, and who is on the eve of a long voyage. Meantime society has been busy with its gossip, and the mind of *Andreas* is at last tortured with doubt. But *Ernst* has overheard one of the gossipers in a café, has provoked a quarrel, and a duel is to be fought. *Andreas* hears of it and succeeds in substituting himself in *Ernst's* place, without the latter's knowledge, before the set time, and using the seconds and the room already prepared in the same house where *Ernst* lodges. *Julie*, too, has heard that *Ernst* is to fight; *Therese* tells her that *Andreas* is at *Ernst's* room, and she comes there to seek her husband and implore his interference. There is a touching pathos in this scene between *Ernst* and *Julie*—both of them upright, both of them knowing that it is whispered everywhere that they love each other—standing far apart in the barren room and grappling with the terrible change that has come over everything. "If our hands were to touch now," says *Ernst*, "it would be something different from what it has been." A voice demands admission—the seconds lead in *Andreas* with a sword-thrust in his breast—he finds here his wife, and, confirmed now in his darkest suspicions, he gathers his failing strength and pushes her from him pitilessly.

The last act, like the first, is in the Hennersdorf salon. *Walter* and his mother are talking with hushed voices of *Andreas*, whose state is critical, and of *Julie*. "She is only an innocent child," says *Therese;* "I was sure of it." *Ernst* is announced; he has come to speak with *Andreas;* he cannot let *Andreas* die believing in their guilt. Both *Walter* and *Therese* turn their backs at first, but afterwards soften a little. "I have lost everything," *Ernst* cries, "honor, friendship, love"; and *Therese* catches at this greedily. *Julie* is heard coming down the stairs, and *Walter* leads *Ernst* into an adjoining room. *Therese* talks of him till *Julie* cries: "Why do you whisper always, 'He loves you, you love him'? It is not so. I am still in my senses. There is no room in my heart for any sinful desire, for I love *Andreas* wholly." "But he has just confessed that he loves you; he is here yet, and you must send him away." And *Julie* replies that she will do her duty. *Ernst* comes in slowly, and this woman, in the extremity of trial, orders her only remaining friend to the door; it is her free will, she says. He stammers, "If I could repay with my life the pain I have caused you"—she starts at the words; *Therese*, then, had told the truth; he did love her. Fainting with the horror of the thought, she still cries, as he comes towards her, "Do not touch me, it would be pollution!" "You, too?" he sobs; "do not you believe in me?" And as he falls on his knees to implore her pity, *Alfred* enters from the adjoining sick-room. He orders *Ernst* out, but in another moment *Andreas* staggers to the door of the salon, and, calling *Julie* to him, makes her kneel. "In the dust!" he cries, "but the real criminal stands there. Here!" And *Ernst* steps before him, not knowing what to do. "There," cries the dying man, "I have you both. Confess!" "It is not true," *Ernst* answers. There is a last moment of suspense. "You lie," gasps *Andreas*, "and I will stamp the mark of your shame upon your forehead"; and with a final effort he strikes him in the face. A few minutes later *Alfred* is master of the house, and his first word is, "Turn this woman out." "Wait!" cries *Ernst* (and this is the moral, practically the epilogue, of the play); "we will resist no longer. From this hour this woman is mine. The world has wished it; good, we are united. Come, Julie." She lies unconscious on his arm. "We are the outcasts. You have us now as you wanted us. This woman was pure as a sunbeam, and I was a true friend to the dead man and to her. I swear it before God the judge. So it has been; but from now on we are as guilty as you have wished. Even at this moment breaks out the criminal flame. Now go into the streets and cry that you were right. And if you are asked who is guilty, look in the glass; there he stands, and there, and everywhere—yes, all of you have done it! Come, Julie, my beloved." And while he leads her away, still resting unconscious on his arm, the curtain falls.

Such is the tragedy that has thrilled German audiences during the present season; and as to the brilliancy of the dialogue, the profound knowledge of dramatic effect, and the intensity of the emotion in it, there is but one voice. It is not altogether pleasant, but the "strong spirits" among the modern realists do not often give us a pleasant story, and, for that matter, "Othello" is not particularly pleasant either. Echegaray has succeeded in doing without an *Iago;* but in making society in general do *Iago's* work out of mere idle amusement, the poet does not increase the inherent charm of the fable. But the real question, however, is whether "Galeotto" throws any substantial light upon the problems of human life and duty. Echegaray has something to say, and he says it with fierce directness, yet we can estimate better the value of his message if we note a certain contradiction between the fundamental conception of the play as expressed in the prologue and epilogue and the development of the characters during the progress of the three acts. The original conception is clear enough: two inflammable persons are to be brought together by a sort of Galeotto, and the ensuing tragedy is to be Galeotto's fault. The old problem of human responsibility is solved thus: the individual will is weak, the environment is answerable—or, as *Alfred* says in the play: "You are in the world, you live with the world, and the

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world is stronger than you." Still, a society that forces the lovers together and unconcernedly causes the tragedy, ought to be scourged for its indifference. Now, this is an idea perfectly self-consistent and affording opportunity for a profound analysis of human passion; whether it would have been edifying upon the stage, if carried out, is a question upon which we cannot enter here. But in the play, as a matter of fact, we have no pair of lovers at all. *Julie* is true from first to last; it shocks us when *Ernst* claims her as the curtain falls. A moment before she shrank from his touch because she thought he loved her; a strange Guinevere! He cries with a terrible eloquence: "Your idle gossip has brought about a guilty love"; but a spectator might answer: "Look at the woman on your arm. You two may have been forced together, you may have become her sole protector, the world may believe that she loves you, but—she does not love you." She is, therefore, not a character that belongs in this piece. A Galeotto for a Guinevere, and then a tragedy, very well; but here we have a Galeotto for a saint, and the saint does not take fire with any guilty flame. And even for *Ernst*, the sudden outburst and confession of the close is not sufficiently prepared for; he has been almost, if not quite, a Galahad. In short, the poet has tried to heighten the pathos, and to make more scathing his arraignment of a gossiping society, by making the hero and heroine of the tragedy two innocent persons who remain innocent. That one of these persons discovers in himself a sudden guilt at the very end does not altogether suffice to make the tragedy inherently probable, nor to satisfy that unformulated feeling for justice which an audience always brings to the criticism of a play, and which remains unchanged despite the changing theories of the critics about the "tragic guilt."

"Call a man a thief, and at last he will steal," says Echegaray. One might answer: "Very likely; but it depends, after all, upon the man. Look at *Julie* in your own play." But when the Spanish realist adds: "It is a crime to laugh and jest about thievery, and impute it idly to others as if it were a light matter," there is no answer that one can make. He has told a bitter and wholesome truth.

B. P.

Correspondence.

PIG-IRON AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent "H.," in No. 1175 of the *Nation*, in "seeking light" on the tariff, says he "speaks from knowledge," and that

"a ton of iron on the furnace bank represents labor and nothing else. The average cost now, taking the country over, is not less than $15.50 to $16.00—all labor. Take this to Chicago or St. Louis at an average freight, say, of $3.00, and it represents not less than $18.50 per ton—labor and freight. Add $1.00 per ton for profit, and you have just about the average market to-day at the great Western centres. . . . Take off $6.72 protection, and there is an instant advantage of at least $5.00 per ton to the foreign manufacturer in the very centre of the American continent. My furnaces have plainly one of two courses to pursue—shut up or reduce cost (labor) by $5.00 per ton, or 33 per cent. . . . Do you think American mechanics, artisans, and laboring men, and the farmers, who find manufacturing centres their highest-priced markets, will permit any party to stand which advocates such action?"

It is a favorite expression of protectionists to say that a manufactured product is "all labor." If "H.'s" pig-iron is all labor, I infer that his "three furnace companies" own the ore and coal mines as well as the lands from which fluxing material is had, and that these mines are worked by his companies, who use no other materials, and hence pay no royalties or gross profits on other people's products. If this be so, and his labor cost in a ton of pig-iron is $15.50, his properties must be so disadvantageously situated that, tariff or no tariff, he will shortly have to get out of the business unless he joins some "trust" or "combination" to restrict the growth of other American furnaces, and prevent further employment of American labor in that channel.

The year 1880 was described in the census reports as one of "great prosperity for the iron industry, when labor was in demand and wages promptly paid." Mr. Edward Atkinson, in his 'Distribution of Products,' page 93, quotes Mr. Jas. M. Swank and Prof. R. Pumpelly, "two of our most competent experts," showing the number of men and boys engaged in making our iron in 1880, as below:

In coal mines producing that part of the coal which was used in iron furnaces, about	20,000
In iron mines	31,668
In blast furnaces	41,875
Total	93,543
The sum of the wages of this force was	$28,458,822

Practically this embraces the great bulk of all the wages paid to make our iron. The total product in that year was 3,781,021 tons, at a labor cost of about $7.50 per ton. But as this included all the badly placed and uneconomically managed furnaces, it follows that if any paid more wages than the average to secure the same results, others must have paid less, and the tariff becomes a scheme to keep the ill-deserving going. If it be true that "taking off the tariff of $6.72 would give an instant advantage to the foreign manufacturer in the very centre of the American continent" of $5 per ton, it is the strongest argument I have yet seen for taking it off. Ocean freight, marine insurance, commissions, etc., surely bring the protection extended to this industry up to $8 per ton at our sea-ports. Our domestic production for 1887 was, according to Mr. Swank's report in our daily papers of January 4 and 5, 6,250,000 tons. Eight dollars protection on this amount is fifty million dollars—or taxes levied upon the people of the United States, to support our iron furnaces, greater than we now expend to support our army and navy.

Fifty million dollars is 10 per cent. net profits on $500,000,000 worth of finished manufactured articles. If, therefore, a tax collector were stationed at the doors of our factories, and from our machinists, hardware, agricultural-implement, and sewing-machine makers, locomotive, car, and steam-engine builders, cutlery and firearm makers, and similar industries were to collect 10 per cent. on $500,000,000 worth of their products, and hand it over to the furnace men for their services in "making iron harder to get," it would be the plain and unadulterated exposition of what protection on iron means. And yet, in despite of these heavy burdens, we export (and seldom import) many of these highly finished articles, involving as they do a high percentage of labor-cost and relatively limited quantity of crude material—a clear and overwhelming proof that American labor, while the best paid, is the cheapest in the world.

It is, therefore, to me, a wonder that "American mechanics, artisans, and laboring men" who use "H.'s" iron will consent to give him $8 per ton more than it is worth, in view of the fact that it handicaps their own industries and reduces their own wages by that amount. If we now send abroad so many manufactured articles made from our high-priced iron, what growth might we not aspire to when his heavy-taxing hand is taken from us?

And with reference to "American farmers, who find manufacturing centres their highest-priced markets," they already supply many "manufacturing centres" across the Atlantic, whose people are willing to return a ton of iron for ten bushels of wheat, instead of a ton for fifteen bushels, which "H." exacts. It is not necessary "to sweep the board and bring in free every form of cotton, woollen, silk, iron, steel, jute, chemical, and other manufactures." A reduction of a tariff tax on raw and crude articles means frequently a greater lessening of both tax and revenue than is apparent by a reference to the revenue derived from the crude materials. In 1885 (the latest year for which I have reports), the imports and duties on wool and woollens show as follows:

	Value.	Duties.
Wool	$9,474,263	$3,164,295
Woollens	36,176,705	24,294,938

Is there any intelligent man who has paid attention to tariff discussions who believes that an abatement of the wool duties of $3,164,295 will reduce the revenue and taxation only to that extent? Can it not be seen, from a glance at the figures, that the tax on the wool is nearly 10 per cent. of the value of our imported woollens? If, therefore, American manufacturers could secure a reduction of the duties on wool, they would be able to manufacture nearly all the *woollens* which come in, reducing the revenue nearer $30,000,000 than $3,000,000. Such a result would simply give increased activity to American industry. The greater number of operatives required to make the additional quantity of woollens would still eat mutton to a greater or less extent. The Ohio and Pennsylvania cowboys who, by their presence in Washington, seem to think that the place to herd sheep is in the halls of our national Capitol, would find larger "manufacturing centres" in which to sell.

What is true of wool and woollens is true of other industries which use "H.'s" products. It should always be remembered that manufactured articles, as a rule, are sensitive commodities, which readily respond in increased production and consumption to any decline in cost. In other words, their market is widened; a fact which finds extreme expression in the homely proverb, "If wishes were horses beggars might ride." It does not mean the "degradation of labor." The farmers and the working classes are themselves the great consumers. It means that they can secure comforts and labor-saving contrivances for themselves which, under higher prices, would be beyond their reach. And unless it can be shown that taxes create wealth, and protectionists have a patent for making something out of nothing, the job of helping "H.'s" industry by taxes, except at the expense of others, is hopeless.

Reduction of taxation will benefit, not injure the manufacturing industries. Republican government owes a living to no one—except its own servants.

Samuel Seay.

Nashville, Tenn., January 13, 1888.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I read with great interest the letter of a pig-iron manufacturer that appeared in your last issue. He stated that pig-iron represented nothing but labor, and that if the duty were removed, he should either be compelled to shut up or reduce wages 33 per cent.

I read with as much interest, but less satisfaction, the editor's reply, which was evasive, as it seems to me, holding practically that pig-iron was not, according to the present plan, to be

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placed on the free list. But according to the average cost of labor in making pig-iron in Pennsylvania in 1885, which was a fraction more than $1.83 per ton—present cost may be less—the 33 per cent. is far from being reached. I recognize that it costs something in labor to dig iron ore and coal and to prepare coke and limestone, but these expenses are to be credited to the "industries" named. Rent, inferior furnaces and ovens, and cost of transportation, are, it seems to me, the big ogres that reduce the profit, and not labor. If profit was even less, the aggregate upon a larger volume might be larger. International competition might also bring other expenses down, as it has reduced cost of wheat raising and wheat transportation. Let me also ask what the Pennsylvania pig-iron makers are going to do with their Southern rivals, who, on the best of expert testimony, can produce for $8 a ton, at a good profit, and at a labor cost of $2!

W. A. C.

HARTFORD, CONN., January 10, 1888.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the letter of "H." on page 11 of your issue of January 5, I find the following: "A ton of pig-iron on the furnace bank represents labor and nothing else. The average cost now, taking the country over, is not less than $15.50 to $16 per ton, all labor."

In J. Schoenhof's 'Destructive Influence of the Tariff,' etc., p. 80, I find this:

Mr. Joseph D. Weeks of Pittsburgh, one of our best experts, gives the price paid for labor in Pittsburgh to make a ton of pig-iron:

Labor on mining ore for ton of pig-iron at $1.40	$2 38
Labor on mining coal and making coke necessary for ton of pig-iron	1 25
Labor on mining limestone	30
Labor at furnace	1 25
	$5 18

Here appears to be a remarkable discrepancy. I am not at all acquainted with the details of the manufacture of pig-iron; but, viewing the matter à priori, it seems either that no capital at all is required in the manufacture of pig-iron, or else that your correspondent has made the mistake of confounding stored-up labor or capital with wage-labor. Please enlighten us on this point, and oblige a constant reader.

Yours, JOHN W. GARDNER.

NORTON HILL, N. Y., January 9, 1888.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Like your correspondent "H.," I, too, with thousands of my countrymen, am interested in the tariff question. With protective education and proclivities, I am, nevertheless, a farmer, and reside inland, and am therefore entirely dependent on the iron business, whether in horse-shoes, tires on wagons, or railroad iron for the transportation of our various products to market. How increased imports would prevent any reduction of the revenue, if we were all sailing under a free-trade flag, I fail to see.

"H." says a "ton of pig-iron on the furnace bank represents labor and nothing else." At Chicago or St. Louis the freight, $3 per ton, is added. I have no doubt his statement is accurate. What farm product represents any such amount of protected industry? Certainly, it is not his wheat, butter, meat, eggs, poultry, or other food for man, nor the farmer's corn nor oats that furnish food for beasts.

I know laborers are more lavish with their money than other investors or capitalists. But if any farmer possessed of more land than he and his family can work, is not hiring at advanced prices in order to have iron men, in the shape of railroads, advance his freights to furnish the farmer a larger internal or home market, the question is beyond me.

I am naturally and by education a Blaine Republican, but how Blaine is to be elected in the free-trade and doubtful States, under our electoral system, which needs electors and not majorities, or why it is to a farmer's interest, if away from tide or water transportation, to favor either corners, monopolies, or large dealers paying enormous rentals, is a problem I have failed to solve.

Very respectfully, HARDWOOD.

THE POTATO TARIFF.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The plaint of the New York potato-dealer referred to on page 2 in No. 1175 of the *Nation* suggests a reply to the stock protectionist argument that if a duty on a given article be removed, the amount of it would at once be added by the foreign producer to the price of the article when exported by him. "If," says he, "they [the Scottish, English, and Dutch potato-producers] send as much as they do while there is still a fifteen-cent tariff on potatoes, what would be the limit of this supply *if that much profit is added to each bushel?*" It is claimed by the protectionists that a tariff, instead of enhancing prices, really reduces them, because, by securing the home market to home producers, competition in that market between home producers reduces prices far below the amount of the duty. But competition is fully as keen in the foreign as in the home market, and the canny Scot or thrifty Hollander would not hesitate long about cutting prices on potatoes or anything else in order to make sales to the American importer. Doubtless the timid New York potato-dealer fears that the English, Scottish, and Dutch potato-producers would form a "Potato Trust," and mutually pledge each other not to sell potatoes to any American dealer at a less price than that ruling in the European markets, plus the fifteen-cent duty removed. Let him be consoled, however, for if the duty be not added to the price of potatoes by the American producer because of competition, neither will the amount of it be added by the foreign producer, for the same reason. CLAYTON HARRINGTON.

OGDEN, IA., January 7, 1888.

COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the short paragraph that you devote to Canadian affairs in your last issue, you do not exaggerate the importance of the East Northumberland election as an evidence of the growing popularity of the commercial-union movement. Mr. Goldwin Smith has already pointed out that the strength of that movement is not even fairly represented by the result of that election, for the reasons that, in the first place, it was not made at all clear that the return of Dr. Mallory could have any practical effect in bringing about a commercial union, and, in the second place, that the Government candidate took the sting out of Dr. Mallory's candidature to a considerable extent by soliciting votes for himself as a champion of the largest measure of reciprocity. The difference between "commercial union" and "the largest measure of reciprocity" is clear enough in one aspect of the matter, but the two things are not so essentially different as to make the defeat of the commercial-union candidate a conclusive evidence that a majority of the voters are not in favor of the principle for which he stood.

The comments which follow your mention of the result of the election furnish much food for reflection to the advocates of the movement on this side of the line. You allude to the fact that Mr. Chamberlain keeps pointing out to the Canadians that political union must follow commercial union pretty closely. Without attempting to pass judgment upon this view of the matter, which is keenly debated here, I wish to assure your readers that the moment it is made clear to the Canadian mind that this is the correct view of the question, that moment the commercial-union movement will receive its quietus on this side of the line. You will observe, if you are at all interested in following the course of the discussion here, how exceedingly careful the advocates of the movement in this country are to dissociate it from any connection with what are known as annexation sentiments. The evidences of this anxiety are clearly apparent in the resolution adopted a few months ago by the conference of provincial premiers at Quebec; in the letter of Hon. Mr. Fielding, Premier of Nova Scotia, read at the recent dinner of the Merchants' Association in Boston; in the furious attack made by the St. John *Telegraph* (a commercial-union advocate) upon the editor of its contemporary for suggesting annexation as a possible solution of the question; in the constant and vehement disclaimer of annexation sentiments by the leading Liberal organ in Toronto, and in the manifest reluctance of the Halifax Liberal organs to commit themselves to annexation views. There is, it is true, a certain dash and raciness about Mr. Longley's unquestionably clever advocacy of the measure which overstep the boundary that its more sober and politic advocates have set to the discussion of the question; but even he would not be willing to place himself on record as a Canadian politician in favor of commercial union, with political incorporation as the necessary sequel.

I do not propose to discuss here the desirableness or otherwise of a political union between this country and yours. From the standpoint of material interests the matter is really too plain for argument. It might fairly be contended, moreover, that such a union would immediately elevate the character of our statesmanship and ennoble our public life, by giving us large and living political issues in lieu of the petty questions of harbor appropriations and branch railways on which of late our election contests have been too frequently fought out. If we could be assured of perpetual amity between the parent country and its lusty offspring on this side of the Atlantic, all reasonable sentimental objections to such a union would also vanish, and if such assurances were possible, the complete political union of the whole continent under one sovereignty, in perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, with their kin beyond the sea, leading the civilization and preserving the peace of the world, would surely be a consummation devoutly to be wished.

The prospect of the perpetual existence of an international boundary of four thousand miles, with its parallel rows of custom-houses and fortifications, with the union jack and the stars and stripes perpetually confronting each other (to borrow from Mr. Lane's excellent speech at the Boston banquet), with its constant exposure to the risk of collisions, and the obvious possibility of a destructive and desolating war, is certainly not a very pleasant one to dwell upon, however jauntily it may be welcomed by a few narrow and shallow organs of imperialism in this country. But at the same time, when you say, as you do, that no intelligent man doubts that a political union between the two countries will some day be brought about, you state the case too strongly, and I am satisfied that you altogether underrate the strength of Cana-

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dian national sentiment. That sentiment is weakest in the province of Nova Scotia, but even here, although a provincial election was carried a couple of years ago in favor of the repeal of the Canadian union, there is not more than one county in the province, if I am justified in making even that one exception, in which a seat would be carried for annexation, while in Ontario and New Brunswick it is almost regarded as sinful to suggest such a thing as annexation even as a remote possibility of the future. I will not at present ask for any of your valuable and well-filled space to account for the strength of this sentiment, but will only say in conclusion that a commercial union, with the concomitants and the sequel that you think must necessarily accompany and follow it, is not at present, and cannot be for many years to come, within the range of practical politics.

B. RUSSELL.

HALIFAX, January 5, 1888.

DE GUSTIBUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My text this time is furnished by the letter of Mr. T. J. Albert in the *Nation* of January 5. He complains that politics is no longer a question of Republicans or Democrats, but of Cleveland or Blaine men; that for the first time we lean upon the counter-opinions of the Presidential candidates; that this publication of personal views is substituting pronunciamientos in place of platforms and national conventions, and thus reducing this country to the level of the South American republics. And he urges that if the politicians do rally to the support of this or that man, the voters should unite in choosing discreet and able men as delegates to a convention to make a platform, and nominate men who will represent its principles.

It seems to me that just this thing which he complains of is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, and that personal leadership is the one thing absolutely necessary to keep the politics of this country, local as well as general, from falling into utter chaos. National conventions and platforms did well enough when this country did not need any governing. But the world never has been and never can be governed by means of them. It always has been and always will be governed by men—propositions of which the history of France is one long illustration from 1789 to this day, and which, when we once frankly recognize them, will bring light into a great many dark places in our politics.

The word "pronunciamiento" has got a bad odor, because the Spanish generals who use it proceed to slaughter and banish their opponents and set up a military despotism till some stronger man takes his turn. But in the sense in which Mr. Albert uses it it describes perfectly such measures as Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule and Irish Church Bills, Disraeli's 1867 Reform Bill, Earl Grey's Parliamentary Reform Bill, Sir Robert Peel's measure for repealing the Corn Laws, and a host of others of the most beneficent political measures of modern times, while it is just the wrangling over the generalities of platforms and the efforts of party wire-pullers to evolve some order and compromise out of jarring factions, that make Congress to-day a spectacle for gods and men.

There is no one lesson which the history of the world teaches more thoroughly than that a few disciplined men, implicitly following a leader, can defeat and overthrow many times their number, following only ideas which each individual or group interprets for itself. This country is already not without examples of this, and will furnish some sad ones if it persists in the methods which Mr. Albert advocates.

The great mass, and the best part, of the people of the country are quite too busy in getting a living to have any definite opinions upon the tariff, civil-service reform, finance, or any other purely political question, but they are quite susceptible of enthusiasm for individuals; and the way to promote any cause, good or bad, is to connect it with some personality. If those who desire good ends are too fastidious to do this, they are shut off from complaining of those who, desiring bad ends, have no such scruples. What may be thus achieved is well shown by the letter of Mr. Whittlesey which precedes that of Mr. Albert. He says: "The late message has cleared the air, and one of the surprises of the next Presidential campaign will be in the number of cultivated men who will resume their functions as citizens"—which is just owing to this element of personality. And if Blaine and Cleveland should be the candidates, the next campaign will tell more clearly than any ever has done what the real wish of the country is as to tariff and revenue reform. I think your readers, each in his own neighborhood, will have noticed what a sudden desire has seized everybody, since the President's message, to know something about the tariff; just as, some years ago, when Butler was a candidate for the Governorship of Massachusetts upon a greenback platform, although it had been previously impossible to get anybody to attend to the subject, the halls were suddenly crowded with audiences greedy for information, and the demand for speakers far outran the supply.

The fact is, there is still not personality enough. The President has fired a shot in the air and met with a hearty response, but the issue raised is the subject of an internecine conflict between private interests in the lobby as to which the public know nothing. If a Secretary of the Treasury, representing the views of the President, and through him of the nation, stood upon the floor of Congress, holding in his hand a definite measure of revenue reform, the struggle, which now rages under ground, would at least be brought out to the light of day, so that the country could judge of the arguments and motives which are brought into play. A leader of opposition would of necessity be developed, and the country would not only take sides with individuals, but have an opportunity of getting some reasons for its choice.

Mr. Albert would probably be horrified at the idea of the Cabinet having seats in Congress, but I believe it is the indispensable preliminary to an adequate settlement not merely of the tariff, but of a good many other political questions which are piling up upon us.

G. B.

BOSTON, January 14, 1888.

OUR LAGGING POST-OFFICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In view of the favorable financial aspect of the Annual Report of the Postmaster-General, I notice in some of the newspapers which have reached me here various hopeful expressions that soon the rate of postage may safely be still further reduced. But in view of the absurdly high and extravagant scale of living on which (thanks to our protective system) in America we have to live, and which we seem to enjoy, is not postage relatively cheap enough now? At least, is it not worth while to do something to put our postal service on a level with that of other civilized countries? It has been often said—and the sting lies in the fact that the charge is true—that our postal system in its management simply lags behind that of other great countries. Is it not high time that *postal delivery* was greatly extended, so as to embrace all towns, and in the more settled portions of our country even the rural districts? To intelligent people here our "going to the post-office" is simply incomprehensible. Some time ago I experienced considerable difficulty in explaining to a postal clerk here, who was disposed to interrogate me as to the P. O. box direction on a letter addressed to a person in a small town, what "going to the post-office" in America meant. I hardly need say that he seemed to be highly amused, and I may add that I was not a little ashamed. The waste of time and manifold inconvenience connected with going for one's mail two or three times a day, for example, in a town of two or three thousand inhabitants, is at once ridiculous and, in an age that seeks to add to efficiency by time and labor-saving appliances, hardly civilized.

It is not the purpose of this letter to point out *how* this reform may be accomplished, but may I not be permitted to suggest that the expense would not be so great as at first supposed, for the post-office would not need to be the expensive (?) luxury that we now too frequently see, and the force employed in the office, except as the postmen might be utilized there, would be comparatively small? Instead of three or four persons using a considerable portion of the time that belongs to the public in "canvassing the political situation," we should secure some real service. Nothing but ignorance on the part of the people who are not fortunate enough to live in free-delivery towns, of what a service real delivery is, has so long reconciled an indulgent public to what is almost a grievance.

P.

BERLIN, PRUSSIA, December 26, 1887.

DARWIN'S CLASSICAL TRAINING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That must have been a very extraordinary teacher who contrived to instruct Darwin in the classics without giving him any training in habits of observation and reasoning. To be sure, learning declensions and conjugations is not necessarily an exercise of the reason, but it certainly involves systematic observation, since all memory depends on antecedent observation. But a boy might know "by heart" all the forms in the Greek grammar, and yet he could not understand the simplest Greek sentence without using his reasoning powers.

To read Latin and Greek it is necessary (1) to notice carefully the significant prefixes and suffixes—*i. e.*, to observe; (2) to determine from these the relation of the words to one another—*i. e.*, to reason. For example, when a boy reading Greek has to translate a circumstantial participle, if he is properly trained he will consider the connection of thought, and translate by a clause beginning with "when," "if," "because," or whatever conjunction brings out the relation expressed. Is there no exercise of the thought power in this?

A teacher of language has his laboratory as well as he who teaches natural science. But his specimens are words and sentences instead of natural objects. Is not dissecting an oration of Cicero as good a mental discipline as dissecting an animal?

Furthermore, the study of Latin and Greek affords more exercise of the reasoning faculty than the reading of, for instance, French. For in the former we have to observe the forms of the words, and reason chiefly from that how to put them together, while in French the order of the words in most cases shows the construction. Viewed simply as a means of mental gymnas-

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tics, then, the study of the classics is valuable. What practical value it has is a different question, to which Mr. Darwin's words, quoted in your last issue, do not seem to refer.

I should not call attention to these very obvious facts did not your correspondent's extracts from Mr. Darwin's writings ignore them altogether. C.

ANNANDALE, N. Y., January 16, 1888.

THE PROGRESS OF COEDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Any one interested in the progress of coeducation may find it useful to examine the following tables, which are compiled from the reports of the Commissioner of Education for 1874 and 1884-5 (the latter being the last issue at hand). In every case the numbers give the sum total of both scientific and classical students:

COLLEGES FOR MEN.

	1874.	1884.
Yale	798	877
Amherst	331	335
Harvard	786	1,082
Williams	101	254
Dartmouth	342	400
Princeton	407	514
Columbia	316	573
University of Pennsylvania	195	344

COLLEGES FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

	1874.		1884.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Wesleyan	176	7	185	16
Bates	97	3	104	20
Colby University	75	7	117	13
Cornell	436	32	523	49
Boston University	36	16	109	57

COLLEGES FOR WOMEN.

	1874.	1884.
Vassar	265	238
Wellesley	—	515
Smith	—	296
Bryn-Mawr	—	(1887) 79

In addition to these colleges for women, it must be remembered that the Harvard Annex is in a highly prosperous condition, that Evelyn College for women has recently been established at Princeton, and that a new female college is soon to be erected in Massachusetts.

It seems to me that an unprejudiced examination of these figures must lead to these conclusions: That colleges limited to one sex enjoy a remarkable degree of prosperity; that women prefer colleges open only to women; that the necessity does not exist of admitting female students to colleges heretofore reserved for men; that in the Eastern section of the country collegiate coeducation will not be extended. Unquestionably women should have access to collegiate training, and undoubtedly there are colleges, reserved for women, well equipped and of high standing.

In the West there is a very different state of things, and it is hard to deduce conclusions. The Eastern colleges draw students largely from this section of the country, which goes to show that certain colleges are more popular than others—very possibly the question of coeducation determines the choice of the college selected. The colleges of the West are overwhelmingly coeducational, yet many of them are colleges only in name; and people who object to coeducation for the college do not oppose it for the school. The State universities, being supported in some measure by public taxation, will always be open to both sexes; as far as other institutions are concerned, as time goes on, things may adjust themselves as they have in the East. It is interesting to know that a women's college is to be established in Denver, the seat of a coeducational university; that the Californian Women's College is prosperous; that Mt. Holyoke Seminary has established a college course, and therefore extended its corporate name, and that (according to newspaper report) the collegiate department of Western Reserve will hereafter close its doors to women.

I am, etc., WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

COLLEGE HILL, OHIO, January 13, 1888.

Notes.

WE are pleased to learn that Mr. George P. Upton has actually in preparation the sequel to his 'Standard Cantatas' which we recently urged upon him in our review of the work just named. His 'Standard Symphonies' will appear in the fall, will include the nine of Beethoven, the six most popular of Haydn, the three great ones of Mozart, all of Mendelssohn's and Schumann's, two of Schubert's, two of Gade's, four of Brahms's, a liberal representation from the modern romantic school, and representative symphonic poems such as Liszt's and Saint-Saëns's—the best of them to be accompanied by musical illustrations. It is possible a fifth volume may be added to the series, devoted to suites, overtures, and miscellaneous orchestral compositions, in the course of another year.

The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States contemplates a new edition in book form of the thirty-seven papers read at its stated meetings in 1883-1888. Many of these are now very scarce. They "give accounts of personal experiences and observations of actual participants in the stirring events to which they relate." If enough copies are subscribed for at the cost of manufacture, $2.00 per volume, two octavo volumes of about 400 pages each will be handsomely produced under the title, 'Sketches of War History, 1861-1865,' and issued successively. The pages will not be stereotyped. Subscriptions should be addressed to the Recorder, Capt. A. H. Mattox, P. O. Box 86, Cincinnati.

G. P. Putnam's Sons' spring announcements include 'The Fall of New France, 1755-1760,' by Gerald E. Hart, President of the Montreal Society for Historical Studies; 'Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana,' a list of works written by or referring to Thomas Jefferson, compiled and annotated by Hamilton B. Tompkins (uniform with the Hamilton and Franklin series of the same publishers); a 'Life of Lincoln,' by Noah Brooks; 'Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina: a Chapter of Reconstruction,' by Walter Allen; a new edition of Simon Sterne's 'Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States'; 'The Relations of Church and State in the United States: or, the American Idea of Religious Liberty, and its Practical Results,' by the Rev. Philip Schaff; 'The Religious Aspect of Evolution,' by President McCosh; Prof. Luigi Cossa's 'Taxation: its Principles and Methods,' edited and annotated by Horace White; 'Property in Land: an Essay on the New Crusade,' by Henry Winn; 'Essays on Hysteria, etc.,' by Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D.; 'Proverbs and Phrases of All Ages,' classified, by Robert Christy; 'Poems of the Plains,' by Thomas B. Peacock; 'Andiatorocté, and Other Poems,' by the Rev. Clarence A. Walworth; 'Before the Dawn,' a story of the Paris Jacquerie; and sundry additions to the "Story of the Nations" series.

Professor Villari's enlarged edition of his 'Savonarola,' the source of inspiration of George Eliot's 'Romola,' has compelled a new translation, which has been undertaken by his wife under his supervision. It will be published by T. Fisher Unwin, London, who will illustrate it with portraits of famous men of the time, and with numerous plates.

Brugmann's 'Elements of a Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages,' vol. i, "Introduction and Phonology," translated from the German by Joseph Wright, Ph. D., will be published immediately by B. Westermann & Co. The same firm have just ready 'Elia of Sobha's Syriac Grammar,' edited and translated from the MSS. in the Berlin Royal Library by Richard J. H. Gottheil.

The interesting announcement is made that the National Museum at Washington has undertaken the formation of a study-collection of casts of Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities in association with the Johns Hopkins University, beginning with those preserved in this country. The Johns Hopkins University will attend to the proper arrangement and cataloguing of the Assyrian collection in the National Museum, under the supervision of Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic Languages, and Dr. Cyrus Adler, assistant in the Semitic courses, who will also coöperate in the work of forming the collection and of securing the loan of objects to be copied.

'Turning Points of Thought and Conduct,' by Dr. James Morris Whiton, is in the press of Thomas Whittaker.

Glancing over the contents of vol. ii of *Scribner's Magazine*, as it comes to us complete and bound, we meet the closing letters in the much-discussed Thackeray series; the two striking papers by Prof. Shaler, on the "Instability of the Atmosphere" and on "Caverns and Cavern Life"; Dr. Sargent's two papers on physical proportions and athletic development; Mr. J. C. Ropes's second paper in illustration of Napoleon and his times; the Bowne letters, since made into a book—'A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago'; Mr. John S. White's "Viking Ship," and not a little else that we read with pleasure and profit on its first appearance in this monthly.

One of the best conceived and best executed works of its kind, Dr. Israel Ward Andrews's 'Manual of the Constitution of the United States' (Cincinnati: Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.), has just undergone a second revision, with special reference to its greater adaptability to school use. We prefer the typography of the first edition, but in all other respects the present is welcome as continuing the view of the Constitution and laws to the latest date. The Constitution of Illinois, taken as a specific example of State constitutions in the first edition, has given way to that of Ohio—no doubt to meet a local demand.

The 'Elements of Analytical Mechanics,' by Prof. P. S. Michie, published by Wiley & Sons (1887), is a most excellent book of its class. It is the second edition, but differs very much from the first, which was never published. It is on the plan of Bartlett's and Wood's books on the same subject, but is confined to the mechanics of solids. We are not acquainted with any American book which gives so satisfactory a discussion of the rotation of a free rigid solid due to impulsive forces. There is a very good discussion of the Potential, and likewise a good introduction to graphical statics. The author has evidently taken great pains to be brief and clear, and seems to us to have succeeded admirably. Here and there are slight errors, mainly typographical. The author makes *density* and *specific gravity* synonymous; but the two are numerically the same only when the mass of unit volume is assumed as the unit of mass.

The fourth volume in the series of 'Mineral

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Resources of the United States,' issued by the Geographical Survey at Washington, covers the calendar year 1886, and is sold at the low price of fifty cents. Its chapters on mineral ores, coal, petroleum, natural gas, building stones, fertilizers, etc., etc., are full of information for the merchant, mechanic, or simple layman. Some economical lessons are obtainable. It appears that the South Carolina phosphate output for the year in question fell below that of 1885, owing to a break in prices. Any very marked decrease in this region would make available a fairly good phosphatic rock in North Carolina, not so readily mined. The diminution in the supply of the best quality of Bavarian lithographic stone is stimulating search for its equivalent in this country with good promise in Tennessee. But, says the reporter, "a drawback which has thus far presented itself in the development of deposits of lithographic stone in the United States consists in [the difficulty of] obtaining men sufficiently skilled in quarrying, selecting, and dressing the stone, to put it into the hands of the consumers in the best shape." We "protect" this infant industry by forbidding the importation of Bavarian workmen having the requisite skill, under contract.

Whitaker's Almanack (New York: Thomas Whittaker) puts in its familiar appearance for 1888. Those who know all that is in it are few; those who go to it in vain are perhaps fewer still.

The revival of *Book Notes* at Providence, R. I., by Mr. Sidney S. Rider is a matter of congratulation. It will be published—a little four-page leaflet—fortnightly, at fifty cents a year, returning in any given number, we venture to predict, the whole price of the subscription. Mr. Rider's "historical, literary, and critical" personality (to misapply his subheading) is very racy and individual, especially when he has occasion to express himself about the tariff, as every book-lover must, sooner or later. Mr. Rider's book notices are always independent and often learned, as in his present friendly exposure of the shortcomings in Mr. Hammett's 'Bibliography of Newport.' Back numbers of the former series of *Book Notes* command a considerable premium, and we wish for the new a circulation which will inure to the benefit rather of the editor than of antiquarian dealers.

To another periodical, not new, we extend our good wishes—we mean the *Swiss Cross*, now entering on its third volume (New York: N. D. C. Hodges, 47 Lafayette Place). The significance of its name is apparent when we mention that it is the monthly organ of the Agassiz Association, a widely distributed body. We cannot expect even so well conducted a magazine as this, which appeals to extremes of youth, to attain the popularity of the children's magazines addicted to stories mostly. The reason why our education neglects the cultivation of the observing faculties is to be found in the constitution of the average mind, which is open to what addresses the imagination and the capacity for acquiring languages, but only now and again takes kindly to science. The same reason determines what reading children like most. As they get too much of fiction, in our opinion, we should like to see the *Swiss Cross* act as a corrective where it may.

To the Class of 1881, Harvard College, Mr. William Coolidge Lane (of the Library) has made a report on "The University during the Past Years"—a little pamphlet of twenty-one pages as it comes to us in a reprint. We need not go into the details of his review of a very noticeable period in the history of the College, including the logical extension of the elective system to the Freshman year. The report is adorned with heliotype views of the new buildings, the John Harvard statue, etc.

We have also before us the first annual report of the Harvard Law School Association, a very cheerful document. The membership has grown to 644, and the Association, while not satisfied with this figure, takes credit for having augmented the attendance at the Law School. It will repeat its annual dinner the day before Commencement. The Treasurer, who confirms membership with a receipt for three dollars, is Mr. Winthrop H. Wade, 10 Tremont Street, Boston.

President Angell's report to the Board of Regents of Michigan University notes an increase of thirty-six in the attendance of women during 1886–87, and a relative gain in numbers with respect to the male students. They now form nearly seventeen per cent. of the whole. He bears witness to their capacity to meet the severest tests of the common discipline, and says: "The advantages derived from the University courses have proved as helpful to the women in their lives subsequent to their graduation as to the men." Of both sexes, he says: "The number of farmers' children exceeds every other class." "Harvard University now distributes to students $66,000 a year, a sum larger than our total receipts from students."

M. Pierre Viala, Professor of Viticulture at the Montpellier Agricultural College, was sent to this country last year by the French Government to examine the American vines, and discover which species would be best adapted to the soil of southern France. His preliminary report to the Minister of Agriculture, which is published in the *Revue Scientifique* for December 24, describes briefly the different American vines, three of which he specifies as peculiarly suited to that region. His general conclusion is, that "we have to rely especially on the American stocks bearing our indigenous varieties in order to be assured of the revival of our vineyards and to maintain the legitimate reputation of the French wines."

The Paris Bureau des Halles et Marchés has published an interesting table showing the comparative amounts of the different principal articles of food consumed by a single person in the years 1881 and 1886, which seems to indicate a slight decrease of the general wealth. The Parisian, for instance, ate more bread in 1886 than he did five years before, but less fish and butcher's meat, though more pork and sausages. He had more oysters and cheese, but less butter and fewer eggs. His consumption of wine fell from 224 litres in 1881 to 186, and there was also a falling off in his beer-drinking, which was not made up by a more than five-fold increase in his consumption of cider, perry, and hydromel.

The most interesting paper in the December *Petermann's Mitteilungen* is Dr. Hans Meyer's account of his ascent of the east African mountain, Kilimanjaro, in July of last year. All his companions gave out before the summit was reached, and he climbed the last snow-field in a blinding storm of sleet, only to find himself confronted by a perpendicular wall of ice over a hundred feet high, which seemed to surround the crater. An excellent map accompanies the paper. Following this are extended notices of three of the maps in Berghaus's 'Physical Atlas,' the meteorological and those showing the dispersion of plants and animals. Dr. Schinz continues his caustic criticisms of Mr. Farini's African travels. From tables prepared by M. Boinet Bey, the population of Egypt is shown to have increased from 4,476,439 in 1846 to 6,806,381 in 1882.

The French papers announce the death of M. Eugène Yung, for twenty-four years the director of the *Revue-Politique et Littéraire*, or *Revue Bleue*, as it is more generally known. He is succeeded by M. Henri Ferrari.

The *Débats* is publishing as its feuilleton an unpublished story of Capt. Mayne Reid's, called "Under the Mangroves."

—The second number of the *Woman's World* contains some interesting matter. There is an exceedingly forcible article by Mrs. Laura M'Laren on the causes which have contributed to a belief in the mental inferiority of women, ending with an appeal to the public for a suspension of judgment on that subject for one more century: if by the year 1988 the position of women in the artistic, musical, scientific, and literary worlds is not equal to that of the other sex, it will then be time to consider the question as settled against her. There is an interesting article by Mrs. Dinah Mulock Craik, which reached the editor only a few days before her death, in which the author maintains that it is monstrous that the country which produced Shakspere should be obliged to beg, borrow, or steal from other countries the dramatic element which it could find in itself if the play-going public would insist upon having plays of a higher order, and looks to Mary Anderson and Wilson Barrett to demonstrate that there is still a wholesome vitality in the British drama. It is doubtful, however, whether players of more force of character than either of these two are not needed to reform the stage. There is also a long fashion article. To a delicate taste, there is something unpleasant in seeing discussions of fashions mixed up with the most serious questions of life and art. Fashion papers doubtless serve a useful purpose —they are the means of diffusing a pleasing consciousness of being well dressed through hamlets and towns very remote from the centres where fashion has its origin; but they are not dignified mediums through which to address an audience of cultivated persons. In a book on cosmetics and tight-lacing and the care of the feet, a person of genuine refinement, let alone an ordinary sense of humor, does not communicate far-reaching theories of mental and moral development. Books and papers of this kind are to be read, if they are read at all, in the privacy of the dressing-room, and they cannot be exposed on the library table without some feeling of degradation. In view of this elementary principle of good taste, it is rather surprising to see that such women as Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, Mrs. Marshall, Anna Swanwick, and Julia Wedgwood, have promised their coöperation to what is, in the first instance, a journal of fashion.

—We speak elsewhere of that extraordinary photographic record of phases of animal locomotion made by Mr. E. Muybridge, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. It remains to state that the analysis of supposed simple movements into compound thus effected can be followed by a synthesis, with the aid of the zoetrope, and especially with the aid of the stereopticon. In other words, the galloping horse, the flying pigeon, the leaping gymnast, the wrestlers, etc., can all be shown upon a screen in their proper action, to the delight of any audience fortunate enough to be invited to such an entertainment. Now it is evident that if there could be established in any large city —as in connection with a literary or scientific institution—a permanent "battery" of cameras such as was employed by Mr. Muybridge, an imperishable record of the figure, height, dress, carriage, and gait of any eminent man in or visiting the gallery could be had. Posterity, at the bidding of our photographic necroman-

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cers, could call up any of these worthies at any future date, and see him move across the stage with a startling verisimilitude. Nay, we could have his very "walk and conversation," and could read our Lowell's line in two ways, as

"—— one of Plutarch's men talked [walked] with us face to face."

The phonograph, at the same time, as we may anticipate from its ultimate perfection, might repeat audibly to the same audience a passage read aloud by the personage in question on occasion of sitting (or walking) for his portrait before the battery. A collection of such recitations would furnish invaluable examples of the speech of the cultivated at any given epoch.

—For some years *Nord und Süd* has made a practice of giving its readers well-written accounts of the most sensational criminal trials of the day in Berlin, Vienna, and other Continental cities, thus furnishing a sort of literary standing to persons and incidents that otherwise would enjoy only the momentary notoriety of the newspaper, and even then would be skipped by the cultivated reader. The Zalewski trial, however, which is discussed by F. Gross in the November number, has, if the commentator's hypothesis is correct, a certain intrinsic connection with literature. Zalewski was born in 1855, and at the age of eighteen got a place in a country post-office, where he forged money-orders, and was in consequence sentenced to six months' imprisonment. At the end of his term he was required to serve in the army, in which he stayed till 1885, when he got another place in the postal service, this time in Vienna. His previous offence would have prevented this, but the copy of the circular letter concerning it had been lost. After a short time he was assigned, at his request, to duty in the registered-letter office. On May 26, 1887, he succeeded in stealing $75,000. In the two years he had been in the Vienna Post-office his salary had been raised from $150 to $450 a year, and he had married. His plan for escape was as carefully thought out as was the intended robbery, yet, according to Mr. Gross, the whole affair was due less to the motives which govern common criminals than to ambition to be the hero of what we call a "dime" novel. The characters and incidents of the crime read as if copied from fiction, unless, indeed, fiction of this sort is truer to life than has been supposed. Zalewski's first object, of course, was to get into a position where there would be something to steal, and in this he seems to have found no difficulty. His second was to provide for his escape, and here his plans were equally successful. He assumed the existence of one of the stock characters of cheap fiction, the poor, but honest and refined woman, between youth and middle-age—the "white slave, who unites the appearance of a lady with the work of a servant." On the 22d of April he advertised to the effect that a well-to-do civil servant wished, as a wife, an educated and sensible woman, poverty no obstacle. Johanna Nathanson, teacher of music and languages, aged twenty-seven, answered the advertisement. To her Zalewski called himself the Ritter von Till, said he was pursued by his relatives, and persuaded her to change her lodging so that he could visit her without being seen. He also accustomed her to the idea, during the following month, that he might have to seek refuge from his pursuers with her. She was accordingly prepared to receive him when, on the night of the robbery, he appeared. She kept him in her lodging, where she lived without a servant, a month, during which the town was full of the hue and cry for Zalewski, and yet never suspected his identity with her "knight." "Why should she?" she replied to a question at the trial. "Was he not her fiancé?" The mind of this cultivated damsel must have been fed, one would think, upon very unrealistic literature to trust any lover so absolutely as this.

—Meantime Zalewski saw no one but his brother, who appears to have become an accessory after the fact. This brother, a sergeant in the army, lived on intimate terms with a maid-servant, who, at his request, got an emigrant's passport, whereupon Johanna and her maid (alias Zalewski) set out for Havre, whence he sailed for this country, and she returned to Vienna. While he was at sea, the police, through an indiscretion of the sergeant, came upon the trail, and telegraphed to New York for Zalewski's arrest, which was effected. Now comes the really extraordinary part of the business. The Austrian Consul reported that the extradition of Zalewski might be difficult, and the lawyers (who at once offered their services) could at any rate postpone it for months. But Zalewski offered voluntarily to return, saying he should personally lay his case before the Emperor. At the preliminary trial, however, he urged that he was a victim of morphine, and had committed his crime when in an irresponsible state. But, finding that this plea made no impression, he developed the plan of defence to which he adhered to the end, in spite of its manifold absurdities, and which has made the trial a *cause célèbre*. This was, that he had been the slave of a secret political society whose object was the disintegration of Austria in the interest of the Slavic nationalities. It was through the society that he had procured his place in the postal service, and that the authorities had overlooked his previous "irregularity"; and, finally, its threat of exposing him, and so causing his dismissal, was the sole cause of his reluctantly consenting to steal the money, which, of course, was intended for the society's treasury. The money taken, Zalewski had fully intended to pay it over, but the agents of the society failed to meet him at the time appointed, and, being now alarmed for his safety, he had fled to America. These alleged disclosures attracted much attention, in spite of the inconsistency, which was easily shown, between them and Zalewski's acts. If his story was mad, there certainly was method in it, and it appears that public opinion in German Austria is quite ready to believe in conspiracies and the like. Zalewski was, however, sentenced to eight years' imprisonment—his dupe, Johanna, being at the same time acquitted.

—The session of the French Academy of January 26 will be one of unusual interest. The election to fill the vacancies made by the deaths, in July and October last, of MM. Caro, Viel-Castel, and Cuvillier-Fleury, has been appointed for that day. The candidates are numerous, those of most importance being, for the seat of M. Caro, M. Paul Janet and the Count Othenin d'Haussonville; for that of M. de Viel-Castel, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, the Marquis Melchior de Vogüé, and M. Rothan; for that of M. Cuvillier-Fleury, MM. J. J. Weiss and Jules Claretie. M. Régis Chantelauze is the only candidate at large of importance. The most eminent of all these is undoubtedly M. Paul Janet, and there would be a peculiar fitness in his selection as a successor to Caro, although the literary and philosophical qualities of the two writers are so dissimilar. As the Count Othenin d'Haussonville is a candidate for the same seat, however, it is possible that M. Janet's superior claims may be passed over, unless his competitor should change his candidature to the seat of M. Cuvillier-Fleury, for which none of the applicants are of superior merit. When M. Gréard was elected last year to fill the place of the Comte de Falloux, much indignation was expressed among the Orleanists, and very loudly by certain Orleanist papers, that M. d'Haussonville, who was also a candidate, should not have been successful. The present election can scarcely pass without his friends, personal and political, making an effort that will elect him to one of the three vacancies. The candidates for M. de Viel-Castel's seat are all good. Admiral Jurien de la Gravière is already a member of the Institute (Académie des Sciences), and is well known to readers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* from his interesting papers, on the French marine during the early part of the century, which have been appearing recently in its pages, and also from earlier works on the marine of the ancients, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and especially for his accounts of his own early and later expeditions to the Orient, the Levant, the South Seas, and elsewhere. He is seventy-five years old, which is always an additional argument in favor of a candidate for the Academy. The Marquis (formerly Comte) Melchior de Vogüé is also a member of the Institute (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). He is an archæologist, and has written much about Syria and Palestine, where he has spent a good deal of time. He was Ambassador at Constantinople from 1871 to 1875, when he was transferred to Vienna, where he remained until after McMahon resigned the Presidency of the republic, in 1879, when he also resigned his position. Of late years he has published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, at long intervals, a series of very interesting papers on "Villars, diplomate," which he now signs simply "Vogüé." He is about fifty-eight years of age, and is not to be confounded with the Vicomte Eugène Melchior de Vogüé, the charming writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* upon Russia and Russian literature, who is a much younger man.

—The third candidate for the seat of M. de Viel-Castel, M. G. Rothan, is also a diplomatist, whose writings upon the foreign policy of France during the Second Empire give him very serious claims to the position. In the six volumes of these which have been published, the literary and personal value of the author adds to the interest of the fine and delicate observation and divination of the diplomatist, who, it has been well said, would have had only to change the tenses of the verbs in his despatches to convert them later into a history of the period, so exact were his previsions. As secretary and chargé-d'affaires of the French embassy at Berlin and elsewhere in Germany, Consul-General at Frankfort, and afterwards minister at some of the smaller courts, he was peculiarly well placed to unravel the intricacies of German policy during the years which paved the way for the Franco-Prussian war. More recently M. Rothan has written about the events and personages of what is now history, with the picturesque vigor and animation of a contemporary, and with a penetration which spares neither the Prussia nor the France of the past, and lays bare all the springs that set in motion the complications so disastrous to his own country. Both M. Rothan and M. de Vogüé, as well as M. Paul Janet, have the peculiar fitness to replace the Academician for whose seat they are candidates, which seems to be a great advantage in such a case, if not always a necessity, in the similarity of their previous careers and the direction of their literary labors.

—It is only eighteen months since Liszt died, at the age of seventy-six, and now the cable

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announces the death, at Paris, of one of his greatest contemporaries and countrymen, Stephen Heller, who was born three years after Liszt (May 15, 1814), at Pesth. Like most great pianists, he was a youthful prodigy, and at the age of nine played with his teacher a concerto for two pianos in a Pesth theatre. In Vienna he appeared as pianist at the age of thirteen, and two years later undertook a concert tour through Germany. At Augsburg he made the acquaintance of a wealthy lady, who took him into her house as teacher for her children; and here his musical intelligence ripened rapidly. In 1838 he went to Paris, where he has remained ever since, esteemed as teacher and composer. But at first he had to struggle with poverty, and met with considerable opposition, owing to the novel form of his compositions and the fact that he made enemies with his critical pen. Heller's compositions afford a conspicuous illustration of the tendency of pianoforte music to abandon the artificial sonata form and seek expression in shorter and more natural forms. Oddly enough, Schumann, whose pianoforte works also illustrate this tendency, and who was one of the first to recognize Heller's genius, regrets that he should "squander his wealth in such small forms"; adding that "other, more economical composers would have made the germs of his studies suffice for entire concertos and sonatas." Had he done so, his works would have had less "future" than now seems in store for them, owing to their originality and abhorrence of triviality. Although Fétis was very wrong when he wrote that "Heller is, much more than Chopin, the modern poet of the pianoforte," Heller will rank as one of the greatest tone-poets who have made a specialty of the piano.

—By a treaty between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, signed at Guatemala December 24, 1886, it was agreed to submit to arbitration the disputes of those Governments over territorial limits, and the President of the United States was selected as arbitrator. He consented to act as such last July, and the claims and arguments of the two countries are now before him. The question is narrowed to a single point—the validity or nullity of the Treaty of April 15, 1858, which was supposed, at the time and for several years, to have been duly ratified, and to have put a happy end to an apparently interminable dissension. But the whole question was reopened seven years after by the claim, then first made by Nicaragua, that the treaty had not been properly ratified. The long and able argument against this conclusion, laid before President Cleveland by the Costa Rican Minister, reached us some days since in its English dress. It is now followed by a pamphlet bearing on the same controversy, by Señor Manuel M. de Peralta, a recognized historical authority, issued at Brussels under the title 'El Canal Interoceanico de Nicaragua y Costa Rica en 1620 y en 1887.' It contains the report on Central American affairs made by Diego de Mercado to Philip III. in 1620, involving, of course, important matter related to the early territorial divisions of the provinces, the report also of Thos. C. Reynolds of the Central and South American Commission of 1884, together with a long list of official documents bearing on the case. Señor Peralta does not put himself forward as an advocate for either party, though it is easy to see that he believes the treaty valid. It is worth noting that Mr. Bancroft, who handles the question with his customary thoroughness in his history of Central America, written before the agreement to arbitrate, is of the same opinion.

ANIMAL LOCOMOTION.

Animal Locomotion: An Electrico-photographic Investigation of Consecutive Phases of Animal Movements. By Eadweard Muybridge. Published under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE result of years of labor and of large expenditure of money is at last laid before the public in this magnificent work. The result is one of which Mr. Muybridge and the University of Pennsylvania, as well as all those concerned either in the actual investigations or in the supply of funds for carrying them on, may well be proud, and the work should belong to every scientific and artistic institution in the country and in the world.

The words of the title must be taken in the widest sense. By far the greater number of plates are devoted to the human "animal," while the "locomotion" illustrated includes almost every action of which bones and muscles are capable. It is well known that Mr. Muybridge's investigations began in the attempt to demonstrate the falsity of some commonly accepted and traditional methods of depicting the gaits of the horse. To show how far his work has outgrown this narrow aim, it is only necessary to state that, out of the 781 plates he has now published, only 95 are devoted to the horse, and only 124 to other animals and to birds, while the other 562 are devoted to men, women, and children, nude, semi-nude, and draped, walking, running, dancing, getting up and lying down, wrestling, boxing, leaping, and playing at athletic games—in short, acting before our eyes the animal life of man.

Here we have the naked, absolute fact: here, for the first time, human eyes may see just how the human body moves in the performance of its functions, how backs bend and hips balance and muscles strain and swell. This is not art, but it is a mine of facts of nature that no artist can afford to neglect. How would Signorelli, that enthusiast of movement and anatomy, who drew his dead son naked, or Michael Angelo or Benvenuto, who thought the crupper "a beautiful bone," have revelled in such volumes as these! How splendid nature is! Here are dancing girls graceful enough to delight the soul of Raphael; athletes with heroic movement that would fire the spirit of Buonarotti; foreshortenings, and flowing contours to satisfy Tintoret; and all with the indisputable stamp of fact, painted for us by the same sun that illumined these glowing chests and cut sharp shadows under the edges of swelling muscles. Thus to see the natural man in his own motion under nature's light is a lesson to humanity of its own glory that the Puritan and the ascetic, the contemner of the nude and the ignorer of art, would do well to study.

For, any impression to the contrary notwithstanding, these plates are beautiful. There are certain phases of movement that seem awkward, certain transient moments when the limbs assume positions which none has ever seen and which strike the eye by their strangeness; but follow the whole action through its various phases, and you will find it free and noble; study the attitude at the culminating moment of an action, and you will find it superb. No one need copy the posture of some of these photographs, or imagine that because a phase of action is proved to exist it is therefore fit for immediate reproduction in art. This course, with regard to the author's photographs of the horse, has been taken by some unwise enthusiasts, and the result has been disagreeable, and has tended to throw ridicule upon all his researches. The use of these records of transient phases of motion is to show how the body passes from an earlier to a later phase, through what changes it passes from rest up to the culminating moment of action and back again to rest; and the artist's true method of study is to master the whole movement, and then to select for representation the one or two phases that most nearly convey the sense of this movement as a whole. He may even do well to throw away his photographs altogether, the action once understood, and express it by a pose not actually found in any one of them, but conveying better than any of them, taken separately, the total result of the series. For the end of art is not record but expression.

So studied, the most interesting revelation that the camera has given us is not, perhaps, that art has been occasionally wrong, but rather that it has been so generally right. In turning over these plates, one is constantly struck with the recurrence of attitudes made famous in immortal sculpture or painting. Here is John of Bologna's Mercury; here is a fragment from the Parthenon; here is a figure of Michael Angelo's or Raphael's or Tintoret's—until one is filled with wonder at the power of eye or brain that saw or divined actions and movements that have waited until now for proof of their verity. Even in the representation of the lower animals, always less carefully observed, this is true. The full-spread gallop of the horse in sporting prints is gone, but the dog has it; the canter of the horses of the Parthenon is true; and in the first equestrian statue modelled in modern times Donatello has rendered the walk with an accuracy unsurpassable. It is only the moderns and the weaklings that suffer. The Greeks and the great masters of the Renaissance saw truly and well.

There is not space, nor is there any need, to go into detail. Least has been done in the investigation of the flight of birds, where the difficulties were peculiarly great; what has been done shows the marvellous observative faculties of the Japanese, who have rendered bird-flight more truly than the artists of all other races. But the presentation of human and quadrupedal action is bewilderingly abundant and complete, and we cannot more fittingly conclude our review than by repeating our recommendation to all artistic and scientific bodies, and indeed to all private persons who can afford to do so, to subscribe at least for the one hundred plates that make up a "copy" of the work, and for as many more as they can compass the means for. Communications may be addressed to Mr. Eadweard Muybridge, in care of the University of Pennsylvania.

GEN. ORMSBY MITCHELL.—I.

Ormsby Macknight Mitchell, Astronomer and General. A biographical narrative, by his son, F. A. Mitchell. Crown 8vo, pp. viii, 392. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THE contrast between the smooth current of a life devoted to science and the turbulent crowding of important events into a brief period of war, is well typified by the fact that Gen. Mitchell's biographer finds it necessary to devote as much space to the eighteen months of his military service as to the narrative of the preceding fifty-two years of his father's career. Yet Ormsby Mitchell's life had not been an uneventful or an uninteresting one. It is an attractive story from his infancy onward; nay, before his birth, the migration of his parents with their family from Virginia across the mountains to the Ohio, their voyage upon a flatboat through the almost unbroken wilderness hundreds of miles, their adventures on the way and in trying to make a home in the Kentucky forest, the discouragement of an evident-

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ly intelligent and (for the period) well-educated family at finding by experience how uncivilized the frontier life must be, the birth of the boy in these wild surroundings, the father's early death, and the widow's struggle to provide for her family—all make up a romance as picturesque as fiction, but more interesting, because our sympathies are more deeply stirred by the knowledge that this is the very truth which happened to a man whose fame is known to us all, and who has good claim to be remembered by his scientific labors and by his patriotic service as a soldier.

While he was yet a mere child, Mitchell's mother removed with her family to Lebanon, O., some forty miles north of Cincinnati; so that, as boy and man, he always reckoned himself an Ohioan. Poverty made it necessary for him to shorten his common-school education, and when, at thirteen, in family council, his being apprenticed to a trade was under discussion, he cut the knot and showed the stuff he was made of by declaring that he would relieve the family of both care and responsibility for him if they would consent. His belief was that he could find some employment through which and in which he could continue his education, for his intellectual ambition was already roused. He found a place where, as "boy in a store," he could earn his bread and learn something besides. A year or two passed, and he discovered that the United States educated military cadets at West Point, supporting them while they were learning to be officers in the army. With characteristic energy and confidence he applied to the Congressman of the district for the appointment, and succeeded in getting such backing that he won the prize. He graduated in the class of 1829, with Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, with good standing, and was retained at the Academy for two years as Assistant Professor of Mathematics. This was an important extension of college life and work, and probably fixed his scientific tastes and determined his career. At its close he married a daughter of Judge Clark of Cornwall, a young widow at the time, whose influence while she lived was evidently a powerful counterpoise to his impetuosity of temper, and the tendency of his strong but somewhat erratic will towards those decisions in haste of which one proverbially repents at leisure.

The army life of a subaltern in the Florida swamps was not agreeable to him, and after a brief experience of it, he resigned and took his young family to Cincinnati. His knowledge as engineer and surveyor was the readiest capital in his struggle for a livelihood, and continued to be his main reliance for some years; but in 1836 he was made Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering in the Cincinnati College, then newly reorganized. The Professorship gave him but a small salary, and his theodolite had still to make up the deficiency of income.

In the winter of 1841-2 he was induced to deliver a popular lecture on the "Stability of the Solar System," and the interest he aroused proved that he had lecturing talents of a very high order. The one address was followed by a course of lectures on general astronomy, and the idea seized him to use the enthusiasm excited to gather means to build an observatory, and to mount in it a telescope equal to any then in existence. To appreciate the apparent Quixotism of the enterprise, it must be remembered that this was before the days of American observatories. When, nearly two years later, John Quincy Adams laid the cornerstone of Mitchell's Observatory at Cincinnati, he could still say in his address, "Look around you, fellow-citizens. Look from the St. John to the Sabine. Look from the Nevesink to the mouth of the Columbia, and you will find not one! not one! or if one, not of our erection, but from funds liberally poured out from the coffers of that motherland from whom our fathers have decreed an eternal separation."

Mitchell's plan was to raise the necessary funds by organizing a joint-stock association, with shares at twenty-five dollars, and, by the aid of his enthusiasm, he raised the money required by personally soliciting the subscriptions, which were obtained from more than three hundred persons. The twelve-inch refractor was bought of Merz in Munich, brought home and mounted, and now the work of the astronomer began. Before, he had been collector, builder, machinist, agent.

It would be too long a story to detail his labors, his vexations, his difficulties and discouragements. They are interestingly told in the biography by his son. To support the observatory, he was induced to make lecturing tours with astronomy as his topic, and he speedily became known as one of the most eloquent and attractive of lecturers upon science, at a time when the elder Silliman and our leading scientists were frequently occupying the popular platform. In 1860 he added the supervision of work at the Dudley Observatory to his other labors, and moved his family to Albany. Here he was when the civil war broke out. Secretary Chase and Senator Harris of New York procured for him the offer of a commission as Brigadier-General of Volunteers in August, 1861, which he accepted. But before he could take the field, and while on a preliminary visit to Washington to report for orders, his wife, who had been in feeble health for some time, suddenly died. The great grief was much more than personal sorrow and pain. It was the loss of a complementary part of his own organization—a balance-wheel of his own restless energy—a calming and steadying influence necessary to make his efforts count as, with his intellect and force, they ought to do. His son says that "her absence is as plain in the narrative that follows as her presence has been in all that precedes."

Gen. Mitchell's military career was a great disappointment to him and to those who were close to him. He was still in full physical vigor, though older than most of the general officers in the national army. His early military education, added to his intellectual eminence as a man of science, gave promise that he would be a leading figure in the conduct of the war. There was no apparent reason why he might not be as prominent on the side of the Union as his classmates Johnston and Lee were on the side of the rebellion. He started a little later in the race than McDowell, McClellan, Halleck, and Buell, and therefore had to begin with subordinate commands; but his chances of eminence were as good as Grant's, or Sherman's, or Thomas's, or Sheridan's. The filial piety of his son attributes his disappointment, and indirectly his death, to the jealousy and dislike of others, especially of Halleck and impliedly of McClellan. The narrative makes it plain that Mitchell was highly esteemed and greatly liked by Stanton and Chase—he may be said to have been a favorite with them. With the Secretaries of War and of the Treasury for his friends, the command of an army seems almost a thing of course. How came he to fail of it, and to be banished to the coast islands of South Carolina, where he soon fell a victim to the climate? The lesson of his previous career is full of encouragement for every generous-minded youth, and shows triumph after triumph in his progress from poverty without education towards competence and acknowledged scientific eminence. Useful and pleasing as this lesson is, that which is taught by his career on the field of great events, in a time that must always fill a great page in history, seems more important by reason of this connection. More than this, his career in the army did not affect himself alone. It will be seen that it was in no small measure connected with the removal of Gen. Buell from active service, and in this way affected the whole course of events in subsequent campaigns in Kentucky and Tennessee. As an historical study, therefore, it is of very considerable importance, and worthy of sufficient space, at least, to outline it with distinctness.

Mitchell and McClellan were not only living in Cincinnati at or a little before the beginning of the war, but both had been connected with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. Mitchell had run the first lines of survey for the road, and had been consulting engineer, while McClellan went directly from its management to the organization of the Ohio troops. Each knew the reputation of the other at home. When Mitchell reported to McClellan for orders, the latter was desirous of making use of all the officers he could reach who had military education and training. He made no secret of his distrust of general officers appointed from civil life without such preparation. Mitchell, in reporting to him, reminded him that he (McClellan) was a much younger man than himself, but promised, nevertheless, his hearty and unqualified support. Yet McClellan received the assurance without cordiality, and Mitchell felt the disappointment. It is possible that he was a little maladroit in this reference to his own superior age, for to graduates of West Point it might imply a consciousness of military seniority; but it would probably be near the truth to assume that McClellan thought, from Mitchell's reputation for self-confidence and habit of pushing strongly his own ideas, that it would be precisely in cordial subordination he would be lacking; and the intimation that he was waiving the privileges of superior age would not tend to diminish this fear. One might guess, without much danger of being wrong, that McClellan a little later warned Buell that this would be Mitchell's failing, and that Buell's mention in his letter of November 27 that he found him "subordinate" is not accidental.

At the suggestion of Gov. Dennison, and in view of the anxiety at Cincinnati lest the Confederate force under Zollicoffer might advance upon that city, a department was made, consisting of the State of Ohio, and Mitchell was assigned to it, with headquarters at his old home. This was in September, when Gen. Robert Anderson was in command of the Department of the Cumberland, including Kentucky and Tennessee. For the proper defence of Cincinnati, Mitchell found it desirable to make fortifications on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, in the suburbs of the city of Covington; but as this was in Anderson's department, the boundaries of the Department of the Ohio were made to include so much of Kentucky as would be included by a radius of fifteen miles. Mitchell applied himself with energy to the organization of volunteers, but was discontented with a rôle of organization and defence. He was not sparing in his criticisms of Anderson, nor hesitating in assuming responsibility within Anderson's department.

On the 8th of October Anderson relinquished his command to Gen. Sherman, and on the 10th Mitchell was put under Sherman's command, with a special order from the War Department assigning him to duty at Camp Dick Robinson, in central Kentucky, to prepare the troops

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there for an expected movement upon Cumberland Gap, and ultimately into East Tennessee. This arrangement was made at Mitchell's request, or, as he says, on his own "appeal to the Secretary of War." He had organized and sent forward the troops that were at the camp named, and was burning to lead them in the field. But the order made complications. It was not showing proper consideration to Sherman to assign subordinates to special tasks under him. As the responsibility was his, the selection should be his. Again, Gen. George H. Thomas was in command at Camp Dick Robinson, and to put Mitchell in command of his troops was to supersede him, against which he protested. The effort, therefore, to make a particular field command for Mitchell resulted, as should have been foreseen, in embroiling everything, and in at once putting him in false relations to both Sherman and Thomas. Sherman showed admirable temper and tact in his correspondence at this period, and protected Thomas in his rights without offending Mitchell. He put plainly before Secretary Cameron, in the famous interview which occurred on October 16, the magnitude of the task in the West, but in his letters to his subordinates his tone was cheerful, his words were encouraging, and he put the best face on everything. His official correspondence is the best possible answer to the insinuations, then circulated, that his intellect was unsettled.

Gen. Buell assumed command on November 15, and pushed forward the work of organizing the Army of the Cumberland. His department was enlarged so as to include Mitchell's. The authorities at Washington still urged the East Tennessee movement, but Buell, like Sherman, doubted the possibility of supplying an army in that region by wagon trains from central Kentucky, a distance of two hundred miles. The almost starvation of Burnside's command in the winter of 1863-4 showed how well founded was that opinion. Mitchell had tendered his resignation when he failed to get the command of the troops under Thomas; but his friends saw that he had acted unwisely, and interposed to prevent its acceptance. Buell assigned him to the command of a division in front of Louisville, where he would be in the advance when the movement on Nashville should begin, and showed such regard for him and such respect for his opinions that the irritation subsided, and Mitchell awaited the new campaign with some approach to patience.

THE CENTRAL-EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848-49.—I.

The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-49 in Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. With some Examination of the Previous Thirty-three Years. By C. Edmund Maurice, author of 'The Lives of English Popular Leaders in the Middle Ages.' London: George Bell & Sons; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887.

Comprehensive and elaborate works by English writers on the modern history of Continental Europe are exceedingly rare. Coxe's 'History of the House of Austria,' composed in the beginning of this century, is still one of the best specimens, though eclipsed by Carlyle's powerful delineations of the life and deeds of an arch-enemy of that house, Frederick the Great. A very imperfect continuation of Coxe's history, embracing a partisan sketch of the events of 1848, was published, as its fourth volume, in Bohn's collection. The work before us, which barely in a few sketches transcends the sphere within which the power and armies of the House of Hapsburg were active forty years ago—being mainly devoted to movements in which the centres of the various races of Austria, Vienna, Pesth, Milan and Venice, Prague, Lemberg, Agram, Carlowitz, and Hermanstadt, were in a national ferment under democratic leaders, and the Austrian generals, Radetzky, Windischgrätz, Haynau, Welden, and others, wielded the sword of the Hapsburg dynasty—also attaches itself to Coxe's volumes; but it is totally different in character, and inspired by a different interest. It is, in fact, an anti-Austrian history. The author obviously went into the study of his subject with a strong antipathy against the dynasty and the bureaucratic centralization enthroned in Vienna, which, while Metternich managed their affairs, formed the most persistent and consistent, most inveterate and deleterious, power opposed to the freedom and liberal aspirations of the Continent, and a constant negation of the unity of Germany and Italy, of the independence of Hungary and Poland, of the national autonomy of Czech and Croat.

The genesis of this remarkable book—a work of love and conscientious labor—is clear. With the enthusiasm for freedom and patriotic action which the atmosphere in the domestic circle of his father, the famous "Christian Socialist," was sure to breed, the author listened as a boy to the then fresh accounts of the popular risings and combats which, in 1848-49, drove Louis Philippe from the Tuileries, Metternich from Vienna, Radetzky from Milan, Pálffy from Venice, Jellachich from before Buda, Russian invaders from Transylvania, Windischgrätz from Pesth. He knew many of the representatives of the *victa causa* as exiles in England—among them Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Saffi; Kossuth, Klapka, and Pulszky; Karl Marx, Karl Blind, and Eugen Oswald. He read, or heard from eye-witnesses, how bravely others had met death under the banners of Bem, Görgei, or Mieroslawski, on barricades, battlefields, or gallows. The story of those popular struggles became a sacred lay to him. At a riper age he learned to his grief that the cause of the peoples had not succumbed to the cannon and perfidy of the tyrants alone; that mutual jealousies and hatreds, national and provincial, and conflicting ambitions and schemes had a large share in its downfall. Prussian and Pole, Czech and Austrian, Croat and Magyar, Ruman and Szekler, had fatally struggled with each other; Venice had not acted in harmony with Milan, nor Naples with Palermo, nor Florence with Rome; the parliaments of Frankfort, Berlin, and Vienna had neutralized each other's constituent work; Kossuth was accused of presumptuous leadership, Mazzini of uncompromising republican dogmatism, Garibaldi of military rashness, Görgei of treason. Perplexed by contradictions and doubts, Mr. Maurice devoted years of labor to an impartial study of the revolutionary epoch, reading, travelling, and inquiring, though leaving out France, where the struggle had not been waged against oppression or alien rule, but between political systems and classes of the nation. The main result of these studies, as to the intrinsic merits of the general movement, is summed up thus, at the conclusion of the book:

"Those revolutions had displayed, in a way unknown before, the strength and the weakness of the national principle. The enthusiasm for liberty, and the power of generous self-sacrifice, which was kindled by a feeling for a common language and common traditions, had been shown in each of the Revolutions; and they had struck a blow at the merely diplomatic and military settlements of States which produced a lasting effect. But, on the other hand, with the love for men of the same race and language there awoke in all the nations, with terrible force, the hatred and scorn for men of other races and languages; and thus, while the leaders of the movement taught tyrants their danger, they supplied them at the same time with a defence against that danger—with another justification of the old maxim of tyrants, 'Divide et impera.' And so the work of the Revolutionists did not fail; but yet it could not achieve all the noble ends for which it was intended."

A last paragraph then tells us how the movement was to be resumed a decade or thereabouts later; how the work, "ennobled by the thought of Mazzini" and the action of Garibaldi and Manin, was to be completed "by the intrigues of Cavour" and Louis Napoleon; how, as Germany had failed to absorb Prussia, Prussia was to absorb Germany by Bismarck's "stern, hard policy of 'blood and iron'"; how the effects of the blunders of the Vienna Revolution were to be remedied by the less generous blundering of Schmerling; how Francis Deák, who had wisely stood aloof in 1849, was to revindicate for Hungary the freedom which she had lost for a time; how other national solutions were to be postponed, and "the yet more dangerous problems of Socialism . . . gradually to assume even greater prominence in the affairs of Europe." From all of which "it will be seen that the Revolutions of 1848 to 1849 were but the climax of movements of which we have not yet seen the end." This summing up clearly shows that the author's democratic ardor has not cooled off, though it may have been softened by his investigations; and that his sympathies still all lean to the side of "the people" and their leaders, even when he contrasts their doings with the achievements of such ministerial wielders of royal power as Cavour and Bismarck. This constancy of sentiment becomes the more striking when we consider how deeply and unsparingly he went into the examination of the chaos created by the dissensions and contentions of the revolutionary actors. A situation or two, reproduced by condensation from his pages, may serve to illustrate this. Let us take one from the theatre of action in Italy, which he has studied best of all.

We are in the early spring of 1848. Charles Albert had been victorious over the Austrians at Goito. Lombardy was full of enthusiasm for the King. On the day after the battle Mazzini appeared in Milan. He addressed the people from a balcony, praising the Provisional Government. But when he applied to the latter for military positions for his republican friends, their services were refused. Volunteers from Switzerland were in the same way repelled. Garibaldi, arriving in the full splendor of fame earned with the sword in South America, was told at Charles Albert's camp that he might go to Turin, "to see *if* and *how* he could be employed." Many of those who were thus repelled in Lombardy went to Venice, which, under the lead of Manin, had achieved a purely democratic revolution. But anxious as Manin was to enlist all sympathies, "he could not help being a Venetian" in the narrower sense, and Venice lost time in making common cause with Venetia. Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, and other Venetian towns had formed Provisional Governments even before they knew that Venice was free, but, disappointed by the hesitation of the Republic, Vicenza offered herself to the King of Sardinia. This decision excited indignation in Venice. The trouble was aggravated by the anomalous position of the officers of the Papal troops, marching to the aid of northern Italy. Durando, the general in chief, deemed himself an independent commander, owing to Pius IX.'s public discouragement of the advance. Though willing to fight for Venice, he felt it was safer to take orders from an established sovereign; and while he wished

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to relieve Padua, he meant to do it as an officer of the Sardinian King. But the wavering of Charles Albert "between war, diplomacy, and complete abandonment of the cause" made him hesitate about extending his campaigns to Venetia. He forbade Durando to cross the Po, and sent him instead to protect the Duchies of Modena and Parma. At the end of April, the Pope launched an Encyclical by which he absolutely repudiated the war against Austria. At the same time he was pressed by Ferdinand of Naples to promote a league between Rome, Naples, and Tuscany, which was to counteract the power of Piedmont. "To say the truth, Ferdinand was not without excuse in this matter; for, while he was being driven to declare war on Austria, the Sicilian Assembly were deposing him from the throne of Sicily, and discussing a proposal to offer their island to a son of Charles Albert." Terrible indignation was aroused by the Encyclical. The cry of treason was raised against the Cardinals, and some of the patriots even talked of carrying off Pius to Lombardy, that he might see for himself the real condition of the war. Both Pius and Charles Albert reconsidered their action, and Durando entered Venetia, but was soon hard pressed, and abandoned by the King. Mazzini in Milan in vain agitated for more revolutionary action. Inscriptions on the walls, emanating from partisans of Sardinia, threatened him with death. This is one short act of the Italian drama—and the whole of it was like it. What was in the meanwhile going on in Germany?

"The fiery Republicans of Baden had returned in indignation to their State, when they found that the Preparatory Parliament would neither establish a Republic nor declare itself permanent; and, provoked by the arrest of one of their members, they had rushed into open insurrection, which only the influence of Robert Blum had prevented from spreading into the Rhine Province. And, while they were preparing to suppress the Republican opposition, the Frankfort Parliament were startled to hear that an assembly had met in Berlin which claimed, like them, to be a National Constituent Assembly; and this rivalry was made the more alarming by the assistance which Prussian soldiers were at the time giving to the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt in suppressing a popular movement in Mainz. The Frankfort Parliament indignantly resolved that 'This Assembly of the Empire has alone the power, as the one legal organ of the will of the German people, to settle the Constitution of Germany, and to decide about the future position of the Princes in the State.' And they further resolved that every Prince who would not submit to their decisions 'should be deprived, with his family, of the princely rank, and should descend into the class of citizens, and that his crown and family property should become the property of the State.'"

Add to this fragmentary picture turbulent movements in every German capital, the national conflict in Schleswig-Holstein, and the deadlier one in Posen.

Tuscan Studies and Sketches. By Leader Scott. Illustrated. Scribner & Welford. 1887.

THE author of this handsome volume is a lover of Italy, who has tempered delight in scenery and costumes with some not too learned investigations in the history of the arts. The two topics are divided by a clear line. The earlier portion of the book contains the story of the Giants of the Palazzo Vecchio, the David, the Hercules and Cacus, and the Neptune, and gathers together some interesting information about Italian organ building, the tapestry industry, and the Florentine mosaic work; at the close we are reminded on what grounds the similar mosaic ornamentation at Agra and Delhi has been ascribed to the influence of artists sent to India in search of Oriental agates and gems for the Medici chapel about 1608, if, in fact, the Orpheus at Delhi be not their own work or that of other Florentine workmen. An artistic episode is made of the beautiful bride-room of Margherita Borgherini, which employed the skill of Baccio d'Agnolo, Andrea del Sarto, Granacci, Pontormo, and Bachiacca; and occasion is taken from the recovered fresco of Sodoma at Mount Oliveto to pay homage to that powerful painter, in whom so many strains of the Italian genius met, and to defend him against the aspersions of Vasari. The latter had but a poor opinion of him, called him a spendthrift, and made other ungentle remarks about him, even saying that his wife had to leave him and support herself, while he was despised by every one; for all this no evidence is found, but only rebutting testimony. The Medici library has a chapter to itself; and these are all of the "Studies"—a well-selected list, pleasantly treated.

The second and longer portion is made up of sketches of Italian life—the vintage at the old villa of the Benvenuti, where the Countess gave a "garden-party," as we should call it; the funerals and the stage-plays in the Apennine villages; the peasant women selling the great crop of mushrooms (three thousand pounds a day at Piteglio, at four and a half centesimi the pound); the gay life at the baths, with all those Italian children who are never young in their apparel even at the seashore; the Florentine market, gone now, and the annual procession of the people to the cemetery at San Miniato. Abundance of Italian color and realism, and a sense of great pleasure in observing it, make all these attractive. Of greater interest, however, are the last two papers, which narrate a journey to Volterra and San Gemignano. The latter is getting to be a hackneyed subject now; but Volterra is fresh, and antiquity has there one of its most impressive seats. The Etruscan city is not too remote, nevertheless, from the modern world. Hard by are the borax springs of Count Larderel, which produce £240 worth of boracic acid daily, and the proprietor, it is interesting to learn, has set up excellent schools, "the infants', the boys', the girls', the adults' night-school—all in such exquisite order and keeping that they would win a premium from an English school board." There is, besides, a spinning and weaving school for young unmarried women; the Count provides the wool and cotton, and the products are sold for the profit of the workers. The salt-works of San Leopoldo, from which the Italian Government obtains an annual revenue of £130,000, are also in the neighborhood. Volterra itself, as the centre of the Etruscan power, is filled with relics; the country about has the picturesque characteristics of a volcanic region, and lying, as it does, off the regular routes of travel, it is full of interest. The volume, as a whole, realizes its very modest aims.

A History of Photography; Written as a practical guide and an introduction to its latest developments. By W. Jerome Harrison, F.R.S. Scovill Manufacturing Company. 1887.

THOUGH foreshadowed as long ago as 1777, the practical question of how to preserve the light-record from destruction by the agent which produced it was not solved till 1839, and, as applied to the present form of photography, not until ten years later. Since then, progress in discovery has been rapid, and of the various stages Mr. Harrison has omitted to notice none. Every form of production of fixed images by the action of light has passed under his careful scrutiny, and, condensed though it be, his history, so far as our own memory goes, overlooks nothing. Of scientific photography, as in astronomy, he has made no account.

In treating of photography in colors Mr. Harrison shows himself to belong to the category of dreamers. He asks, "When will the Niepce, the Talbot, or the Herschell arise who will do for colors what these 'fathers of photography' did for pictures in black and white?" Without being rash enough to put a limit on the progress of science, it is pretty safe to reply, "Never, until some new property of matter is discovered." The fact is, that all the apparent renderings of natural colors by the photograph are, thus far, fallacious coincidences, and no one has ever succeeded in getting in the camera a true reproduction of the colors of natural objects. It is unquestionable that chloride of silver, exposed to light under certain conditions, decomposes in an iridescence which to a limited extent coincides with certain colors of the prism, so that when a chloride film is exposed under colored glasses, the decomposition it undergoes partially reproduces, at a certain stage of the decomposition, the colors of some of the glasses; but the continued action of the light ends in monochrome. Mr. Harrison says that "with regard to natural colors we are now precisely in the condition occupied by Davy and Wedgwood with respect to ordinary photographs." But this is not the case. There is nothing to show that the colors of the natural object are the cause of the colors even in the decomposing chloride. We have seen a blue sky produced in a wet collodion negative, but it was clearly an accident of the molecular constitution of the vehicle for the silver reduced by development, and was only visible by reflected light. But the colors on daguerreotype plates, which have given the most marked results, may be produced, as Becquerel shows, without the action of light. Placing a silver plate in a "solution of hydrochloric acid," and attaching it to the positive polo of a voltaic battery, etc., etc., "as the combination of silver and chlorine took place, the layer of silver chloride increased in thickness, and as it did so its color changed to gray, yellow, violet, and blue; and, continuing the action, these colors appeared a second time." And no more is done in the decomposition of those films by light than is thus shown to have been done in the forming of them by *electric action; and in every case thus far,* as stated by any trustworthy scientist, the images, while never coinciding completely with nature, disappear under the continued action of light. We have seen some of the results of the experiments made, and while a part were certainly curious coincidences, others were deliberate fraud.

A frontispiece portrait of the author of this book by the "Mosstype" is a very successful print from the block derived from a photographic negative. Another print of three children, at the end of the volume, by the same process, suggests the need of a sure means of correcting defects in the block, the want of which is a great drawback still to all the block processes.

Studies in Civil Government. By W. A. Mowry. Boston: Silver, Rogers & Co.

THERE is no more gratifying evidence of the increasing attention given to the study of American history and institutions than the steady improvement in the quality of the manuals. There are already several excellent narrative

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school histories; and Mr. Mowry adds one to the brief list of serviceable descriptive text-books. The civil Government which he has in mind is, to be sure, that of the United States only, but he treats of the local as well as of the general Government. The book is therefore a compromise between a description of institutions, like Nordhoff's, and an elementary commentary on the Constitution, like Andrews's or Townsend's. None of the topics which he has selected for treatment are uninteresting, and most of them are essential for the future citizen to know. Among the best things are the chapters on public schools and local taxation, and the brief descriptions of the post-office, the national banks, and other public institutions. The spirit of the book is to teach government as it is. In its neat exterior, clear type, convenient table of contents and index, and simple arrangement, it is almost a model. Mr. Mowry has had the happy idea of illustrating his book with tolerable pictures of the Capitol at Washington, and other public buildings, and with still more suggestive plans of the House and Senate chambers.

The chief fault of execution is a want of proportion, which has led to the total omission of some topics that must not be left untaught. If four pages can be given to copyright, there surely should be space for some account of State governments. It is well to give a chapter to territorial growth, but it should not take the place of a sketch of the civil status of the various classes of the people. If Mr. Mowry had contented himself without the constitutional texts, which take up one-fifth of the book; or if he had printed the Constitution of the United States only once, instead of in considerable part twice, he might have found room for some account of political parties and political methods. The comments on the clauses of the Constitution in many cases add nothing, and in other cases are phrased in technical terms. It is, however, a book in the right direction, and likely to be interesting and useful, in the hands of an intelligent teacher.

De Omnibus Rebus: An Old Man's Discursive Ramblings on the Road of Every Day Life. By the author of 'Flemish Interiors.' With one hundred illustrations by H. Caulfield Orpen. London: John C. Nimmo. 1888.

THIS volume makes no demands upon the reader except for leisure. The "road of every-day life" which its author journeys upon is the route of the London omnibus. Incidents of the way and odd characters or caricatures are the theme to which he returns from time to time, but his discursiveness is the rambling of a man who is trying to make talk, and bears the same relation to thought that gossip does to conversation. He is hard put to it to find something to say, and he pieces out with such ancient witticisms as he can remember. There can be but few books in which it takes so many words to say so little. There is enough material for one good Roundabout Paper, but it would be a short one. The relief to the reader who suffers the tedious diffuseness of these hundreds of octavo pages about the conductor, the driver, the fares, and the nothings which they suggest for mention, consists in the little illustrations by Mr. Orpen, which have the spirit of humor in them; these tell their own story, and the book can practically be perused by a man in search of amusement, by merely turning the leaves and glancing at these pictorial Britons, who exhibit themselves in attitudes and expressions which convey their whole character. The text adds nothing to their vigor or piquancy. They are, of course, slight sketches, scratches of the pencil, such as any one may see in the minor illustrations of the comic press, but entirely successful in their humble effort. There is a curious incongruity between their pettiness and the author's voluminous lucubrations. It is Harlequin mounted on the shoulders of gigantic Dulness. Nevertheless, if one has great abundance of leisure, he may take pleasure in the London atmosphere which pervades the book. The Londoner is present in every scene; and in every turn of the author's style, in his interests, his haunts, his prejudices, and all that is his, the citizen of the British metropolis stands confessed.

Women and Men. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Harper & Brothers. 1888. 12mo, pp. 326.

MR. HIGGINSON has reprinted in book form the series of articles, chiefly on women and incidentally on men, which have already appeared in *Harper's Bazar*. They discuss, with great good sense and judgment, the changes in the condition of women produced by the extinction of her home-sheltered occupations of spinning and weaving, and by the coincident extinction of that profound ignorance which was once thought essential to modesty. The curious slowness with which many people—aged and conservative people of both sexes—recognize the changes in character and career which are necessarily produced by such great changes in circumstances, will cause articles of this sort to serve an important function, doubtless, for many years to come; but to one who has a keener vision for the signs of the times, they have already a somewhat antiquated air. It is only the slow-of-going and the hard-of-seeing who have still to be convinced that a good education is not wasted when spent upon a woman, and that she can tie her bonnet-strings with modesty and virtue as she passes down the elevator and out of the door of some mammoth manufacturing establishment. Of the various causes, however, which have hastened in this country the complete recognition of woman's right to an independent existence, not the least important, perhaps, is the steady stream of sound and careful argument which, from the early days of the *Una* to the present time, has poured from Mr. Higginson's pen. No one is more deserving than he of the warm feeling which the victims of a resisted oppression must have for their tried and true knight-errant.

Of the articles which do not concern women, the best is that on the novelists of the Howells school. It is an admirable defence of the position that because commonplace characters are capable of being accurately painted, it does not follow that a writer of sufficient genius cannot make as fine a picture of characters that are not commonplace.

The publishers have done a graceful writer a great unkindness by giving a very inartistic exterior to his book.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott and Mathewson. Demosthenes Against Philip. Vol. I. Part 1. Macmillan & Co. 75 cents.
Baker, A. M. How to Succeed as a Stenographer or a Typewriter. Fowler & Wells Co. 25 cents.
Clodfelter, N. J. Snatched from the Poorhouse. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. 50 cents.
Connolly, D. The Household Library of Ireland's Poets. With a Full and Choice Selection from the Irish-American Poets. Daniel Connolly.
Currier, Prof. A. H. The Life of Constans L. Goodell, D.D. Introduction by Dr. W. M. Taylor. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.50.
Dabney, Prof. R. L. The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered. New and enlarged ed. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $2.50.
Daryl, P. Ireland's Disease: Notes and Impressions. George Routledge & Sons. $1.25.
Hodder, E. The Life of Samuel Morley. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $3.
Johnston, R. M. Mr. Absalom Billingslea, and Other Georgia Folk. Illustrated. Harper & Bros.
Lea, H. C. A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. In 3 Vols. Vol. II. Harper & Bros.
Lockyer, Prof. J. N. The Movements of the Earth. Macmillan & Co.
Mitchell, Dr. S. W. Doctor and Patient. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.50.
Morgan, A. Shakespeare in Fact and in Criticism. William Evarts.
Morsbach, L. Ueber den Ursprung der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache. Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger.
Murray—Herman. One Traveller Returns. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.
Ohnet, G. Le Maître de Forges. W. R. Jenkins. 60 cents.
Parker, Dr. J. The People's Bible. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. Vol. VII. Funk & Wagnalls. $1.50.
Patton, J. H. The Triumph of the Presbytery of Hanover; or, the Separation of Church and State in Virginia. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 75 cents.
Piatt, J. J. Idyls and Lyrics of the Ohio Valley. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Twenty American Authors. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15 cents.
Prescott, Dr. A. B. Organic Analysis: A Manual of the Descriptive and Analytical Chemistry of Certain Carbon Compounds in Common Use. D. Van Nostrand.
Renan, Ernest. Histoire du Peuple d'Israël. T. I. Paris: Calmann Lévy: Boston: Schoenhof.
Richardson, D. N. A Girdle Round the Earth: Home Letters from Foreign Lands. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $2.
Richey, Prof. T. The Parables of the Lord Jesus According to Matthew. E. & J. B. Young.
Riley, J. W. Afterwhiles. Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Co.
Routledge's Almanack. 1888. George Routledge & Sons.
Runcie, Constance F. Poems, Dramatic and Lyric. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.

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